



Turkey and Kurdistan

Racism, Fascism and Resistance in Europe

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### SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR PRISONERS

We received many questions of people in prison who want to read the CLASH. Until now we could sent the papers. Soon our financial capacities will be exhausted. We are glad about every letter and question from prisoners and about new adresses and would like go on: but we just can't manage it anymore. It would be possible to subsidize the prisoner's subscriptions by making the CLASH even more expensive. But who has enough money to afford the newspaper anymore. So shit, it doesn't work neither.

Therefore our appeal to you:

Enable the prisoner's participation at the political discussion!!!

Take care to bring this newspaper into jail!!

Overtake subscriptions for prisoners!!

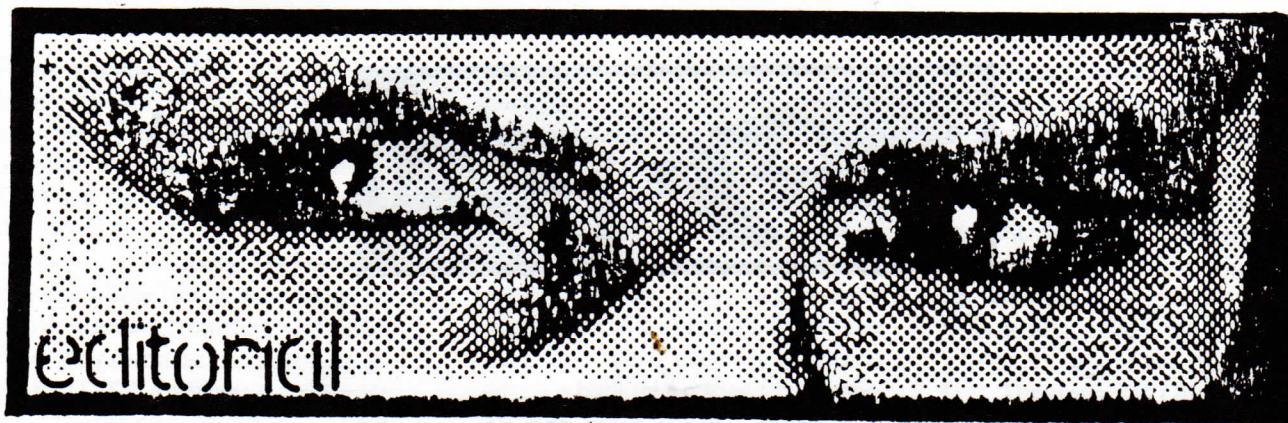
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- CAUTION -

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After the time of one and a half year, four issues, of learning and changing, fun, pain and pleasure, highs and lows, uncountable flows of energies of all kind, we're still resolute on the way connecting us with a lot of comrades. And we're convinced that we'll meet eachother again and again in order to walk together some further part of this way and to publish a new issue. Along the way we met a lot of hurdles and have overcome them. Certainly not all of them, but we know now that they can't stop us easily.

Well, people walking long distances have a big need to talk to other people and we still have something to say in relation to the last six months. We hope it will make it a little bit clearer to you what our history and intention is, as we think that our last editorial gave more questions than answers.

Once again we want to say something about our concept discussion. About the way it came up and what developed out of it until now.

It's the old story of noticing that you're unsatisfied and to speak it out loudly in order to change things: after four issues the newspaper had become established and the working inside the redaction had become continuous. But it also was about time to get our practical problems solved. Some of us had strong critics on the content of the newspaper. This was the following one: Although we achieved some things well, the articles were actually more or less randomly picked from those sended in by mail. There were no real clear links between the different articles and between subsequent issues..

Because of this critic we started a discussion about the determination of the newspaper. We got in a controversial debate arguing about the things we wanted to concentrate ourselves on first. But we kept on interacting with eachother and agreed on working out a general 'contentual-strategical' determination of the newspaper, a 'concept', and notwithstanding that to publish a new issue (nr. 4).

We've discussed a long time on the thought of a concept. But we had to find out, that the discussion went quite an abstract way. And basically we're feeling the same as a lot of other parts of the movement: there are a lot of questions and contradictions. Many people think about and work on fundamental content determinations and strategies. But probably quite some theoretical and practical efforts and initiatives will be needed in order to get to some visible answers and perspectives.

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Another problem of ours also is that we are not so many. Therefore we are not able to represent the many different spectra and parts of the movements. And we also cannot bring all their own experiences and knowledge together by ourselves.

We did not change our point of view that it would be right to work out and publish a more exact determination of the contents of the newspaper, but we also recognized that a concept must not become a theory staying abstract.

We solved the problem of the concept-discussion by deciding first to start determining the individual issues or even only thematic blocks or articles, to discuss about them in a concrete way and to put them into relationship. This we see as steps that are practical, possible and fitting to our level of discussion. In time, out of this can grow a concept.





We have reflected upon our development from the day we started until now, asking ourselves what has changed and what has stayed the same.

We still see the newspaper as a helpful means for the international discussion. In order to be really useful one of the most important criteria is that the articles contribute directly to the discussions. (for example the constructive criticism by the MLN-PR).

But our motivation to put so much energy into publishing the newspaper has changed. At the start we saw being part of the building up of a strong revolutionary movement in Europe as the main motivation. We were a lot more optimistic then. Actually we counted on much more than was there in reality, and also on more than we really expected. In the meantime an exchange all over the world takes place. The unexpected resonance and participation from outside Europe (most of all from all parts of the America's) is an important development and confirms the necessity of an international newspaper. At the same time the paper only slowly gains effect and support in our own movements. Because of the present situation, we have little hope for a speedy change. But also here there are, amongst those that don't give up but are still fighting, a lot of comrades who see the necessity of working together more, here and internationally. We recognized that a lot of persistence is needed, and that we must not be disappointed so quickly.

We have a request to the infoshops that also they give us more support by thinking about contently and material support (distribution, benefits.....) All of the working groups of the Infoshop Meetings (not only the newspaper working group) could support us with articles, contributions and filling in the discussions.

So we've reported a lot about our difficulties and attempts to resolve them. It sticks with it: in the editorials we can make our discussions and work transparent, however they only become visible in the "look 'n' feel" of the newspaper. First attempts of this new way of working are now the topics to Turkey/Kurdistan and to the anti-fascism in Europe. Within both topics we've tried to convey a bit more precise overview about the situation in one country or one area of resistance. The antifa topic has no preface, therefore we want to formulate our ideas about it here: we noticed a similar development of the fascism in the west-European countries. In nearly all countries the fascist movements become stronger and they join their forces. There's a growing racism and racist tendencies in the population are growing. It was important for us to inform about the different backgrounds in the countries and to documentate different political actions with several perspectives. It was our intention to give the possibility for the movements in the countries to work with the experiences of the others and to learn from eachother. These were the criterions with which we looked for articles and put them together. Although the antifa topic is also very typical of the state of the project and our growing concept. In the common discussion we didn't go further than noticing the development of fascism. We couldn't yet discuss about the causes of this development in order to come to concrete resolving points. But this is something we imagine we'll be able to do in the future and we also like to get sended discussion articles in this fashion. (Persist and you'll break through, that's what it's all about, isn't it?)

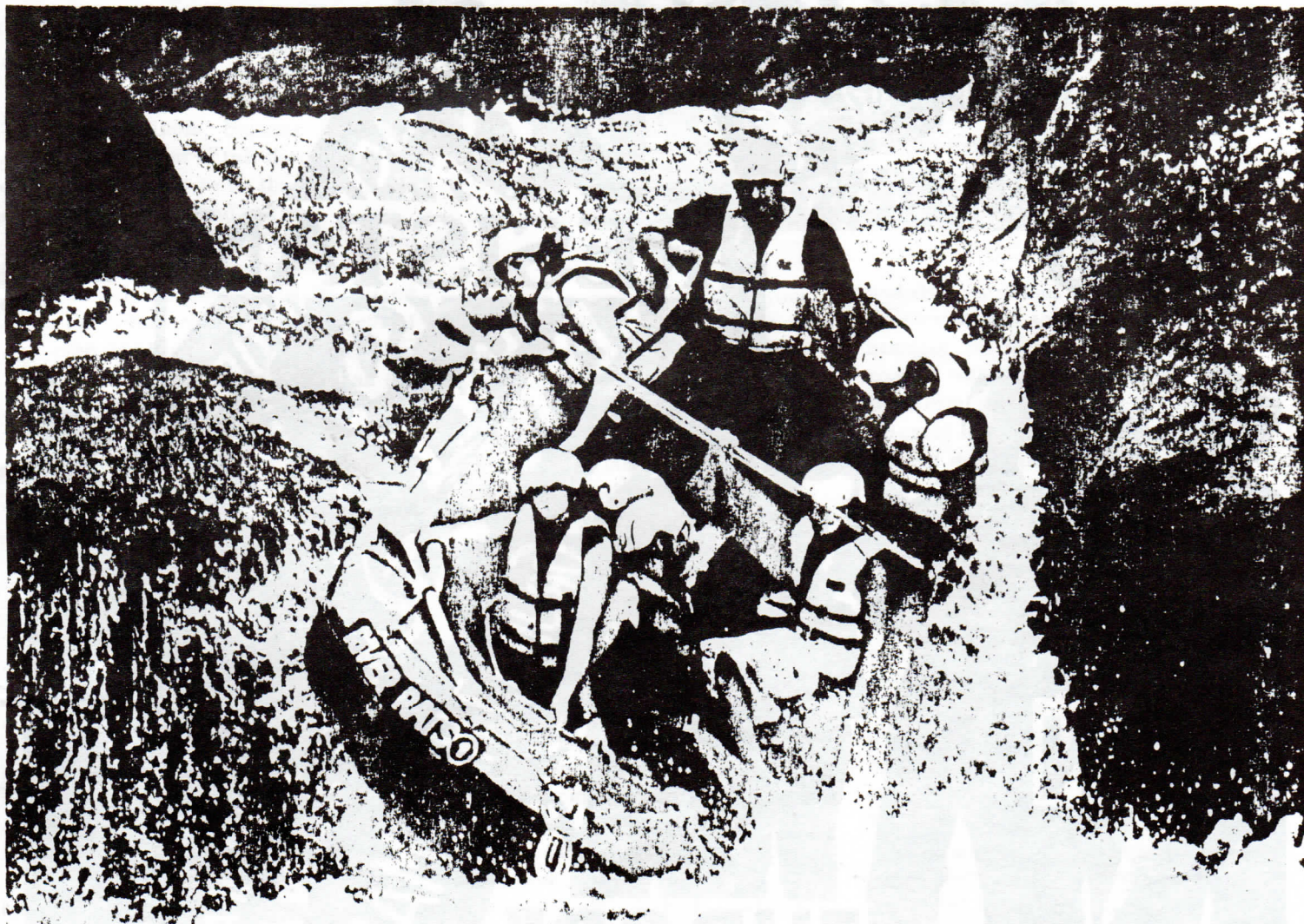


We want to say something we neglected the last time, to the (two) back-covers of the last issue. It was a mistake because it led to lack of clarity.

The poem was by Linton Kwesi Johnson, a black musician living in Brixton, London. The poem is a text from a song that also has further verses. We criticize ourselves, for usurping the fighting-spirited messages from people who live under different conditions, have a different history and ways of expression than we do, in a way without giving any information.

The other back-cover represents a poster, that was placarded by a group in certain communities in New York. This poster action was a reaction by this group on a scandal that took place in the USA: Some black people were brutally beaten up by the police. The unusual thing about this was that some uninvolved persons got in on video-camera by chance. These films were broadcasted by the public media and produced a lot of outrage.

Finally we want to help you remember our proposal to take over subscriptions for prisoners. (See page 2)





**RACISM,**

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**FASCISM**

**AND**

**RESISTANCE**



**EUROPE**



## ENGLAND

### out of a readersletter from England , 27.7.91:

it is always good to read about the fight against racism and fascism across europe where it is worse than in the UK. But that is not to say that we do not have a problem here, of course we do! The "National Front" (NF) and "British National Party" (BNP) have been "keeping their heads down" after their defeats on the streets and at the Ballot Box, and the rise of Margaret Thatcher (with her racist policies) making racism "respectable". But now, ten years on, they are making a comeback, selling papers on regular pitches, marching in fairly large numbers, making vicious attacks on black and asian people, and destroying jewish graveyards. All of this under the slogan "rights for whites" - appealing to ordinary white working class people in London, Bristol and Glasgow.

So what is the response from the antiracists? The situation in the Left is one of division and sectarian bigotry where one socialist group cannot agree with one another on tactics and strategy on how to isolate and smash Fascism. For example, a public meeting I attended recently was a sad reflection of this situation where Anti Fascist Action (AFA) had an open debate which in the discussion time after the speeches degenerated into a shouting match between anarchists, socialists of various fractions and others. It was a sectarian, mud throwing and political point-scoring exercise which only served to divide us! I pointed out to the meeting that our weakness is strength for the nazis. One sore point was the fact that 100 nazis marched through an estate - only opposed by 15 antifascists because no-one had mobilized, thinking it "was only a rumour". Very sad indeed.

On another side, there are 3 prisoners, all members of AFA like myself, who were jailed for defending themselves from an attack by a fascist called Nicky Crane. Nicky Crane has served numerous sentences for violent assaults on black and asian people. He has been an active organizer on the nazi youth music scene for many years, and was described by a judge as "worse than an animal" for his attack with a bottle on a black family at a bus stop. So it is no surprise that Mark, David and Tony (the prisoners) had to use force to defend themselves from this thug. David Phelan was sentenced to 3 years, Tony David got 4 years, and Mark got 4 years.

Because AFA understand the need to confront the fascists physically and ideologically this inevitably brings people into confrontation with the law. AFAs attitude is that having encouraged people to adopt this strategy, we will not abandon them - especially if jailed, because the british state does not look kindly on such activists.

What Mark, David and Tony need, and I ask on their behalf, is your support comrades across Europe, support - political, moral and financial. All donations to them and their families are gratefully received. What is more important perhaps, with fascists flexing their muscles across Europe, is that the prisoners get your support, are seen to get it and that you and your organisations are seen to be willing to give it. Socialist, anarchist, marxist or leninist, what ever, the fight against the nazis is paramount.

A luta continua  
Avanti Popolo  
yours in struggle

contact: AFA, BM Box 1734,  
London, WCIN 3XX





# "STOP THE FASCIST TERROR IN GERMANY"

On October, 9th 500 demonstrators went in front of the german embassy in London with the same slogans like the swedish antifascists. The demonstration was organized in co-operation of "Campaign against Racism and Fascism", the anti fascist newspaper "Searchlight", immigrants-organisations and jewish students.

A delegate of the biggest british Union, the "General and Transports Workers Union", which also supported the demonstration, took part in a discussion with the press-officer of the german embassy too. The british antifascists verified their accusation against the german government with a thick collection of material about the racist terror in germany and a list of attacks. The press officer of the embassy denied any connection of governments policy with fascist terror and challenged that the violence come from legal Nazi-organisations. He also couldn't prove wrong convincingly the accusation that the german government criminalizes the victims and gives mercy and sympathy to the perpetrators. After 20 minutes he stopped the discussion un-nerved because each of his assertions could be

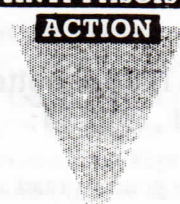
contradicted properly by the antifascists by showing the collected material.

Also in the north-english city York there was an antifascist demo with the slogan of solidarity with antifascists and refugees in Germany. 400 people took part in the demonstration which takes place every year at a tower of the Middle Ages, where in the 12th century jewish people have been massacred. Actions of "Anti-Fascist Action" took place in Manchester and Leeds in front of the german "Goethe Institute". They spreaded out thousands of leaf-lets and collected solidarity-donations. Because there is no german consulate in Newscatle there the demonstration took place in the inner-city.

Many people especially in Great Britain see the right-wing development in Germany with growing axienty. Already the unification of the both german states and the nationalist tones from Bonn were regarded with large scepticism. Now as it proves itself that the nationalist policy in Germany let appear Nazis

in large numbers on stage again, the historical experiences with Nazi-Germany woke up again. In face of the far about 1.000 racist attacks since september the declarations of german politicians that Germany is a country that treat foreigners friendly don't sound very credible.

ANTI FASCIST  
ACTION





# Anti-fascist demonstration in Brumunddal

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## Anti-fascist Autumn!

### Antifascist demonstration in Brumunddal (Norway)

During the summer there were rumours going round that the fascist-leader Arne Myrdal was intending to hold a new series of public meetings to spread his lies. Arne Myrdal is the former leader of „The Peoples Movement Against Immigration“ (FMI), but after he got a 1 year conviction for planning to blow up an refugeeecenter, he got frozen out from FMI. He then founded „Norwegians Against Immigration“ (NMI).

The mobilizing of the anti-fascists in Oslo started immediately after we got to know the exact date and place for the meeting; the August, 31 in Brumunddal, a small village north of Oslo with 8000 citizens.

Aktion Against Organized Racism (AMOR), which is put together by different groups from the left wing in Norway and independent anti-racists, started up their work again, to organize and mobilize for the counter-demonstration in Brumunddal. We had a lot of discussions about how we should form the demonstration. The reason for us taking part in organizing a demonstration in an other city or village, is that the active anti-fascists often are too few and too unorganized in such small places to be able to do it without any practical help. We believe it is important to have contacts and cooperate with local anti-fascists, so we had several meetings with the local activists. During the discussions with the local anti-racists in Brumunddal, it became quite clear that they did not like the idea of chasing the racists away. There has been a discussion on this subject going on among anti-racists for a long time. A lot of people believe that it is wrong to stop the fascists in talking public, because it would hurt the principal of free speech. We do not agree with this, but we decided to follow the local anti-racists wishes. The type of the demonstration has to be adjusted to the local conditions, and that the form of demonstration we would have preferred perhaps would have worked out fine in a larger city, but it would totally miss the point in a village with 8000 inhabitants. Even if

we didn't agree with the form of the action, we found it important to help them with the practical work and to show our solidarity.

### Brumunddal

Brumunddal was already well known for all the attacks against third world immigrants, the statistics say 1/3 of all attacks on black immigrants in Norway have taken place in Brumunddal. One immigrant got his shop firebombed 8 times by fascists. In the end he had to move out of the village.

The youth in Brumunddal has traditionally gone straight from the obligatory school to work in the local industry. But during the last years a lot of the factories have been closed down, and it has caused a high rate of unemployment. There are few possibilities to get any further education.

The center of the village is totally dominated by racists and fascists, and daily harassment of anti-fascists and immigrants in Brumunddal is usual, one of the local organizers of the counter-demonstration on August, 31 was tried run over by car a few days ahead of the demo. Arne Myrdal was invited to gather the meeting in Brumunddal by the local big fat no-brain fascistguru Arild Elvsveen, a real psychopath which is famous in Brumunddal for having blown up cows with the „wrong colour“, and also for demolishing shops with a chainsaw, just because they wouldn't let him come first in the queue. He is also the leader for the local NMI-group.

### August 31

Saturday morning August, 31 130 anti-fascists left from Oslo to Brumunddal by busses. 11 o'clock a.m. they met with 50-60 anti-fascists from the cities surrounding Brumunddal and anti-fascists from Brumunddal. Half past 11 300 anti-fascists marched through the center of Brumunddal to the square (Mobiltomta) where the fascists meeting was going to start at noon. Some of the fascists were already there when the

taken from Blitz, Newsletter no.4

demo reached Mobiltomta. After a short fight their P.A. was smashed to smithereens. The fascists and the anti-fascists were standing front to front with a dead zone of a few meters between each part. At that point we were many enough to chase them away, but the local anti-fascists believed that it would be wrong. After an hour 20 riotcops entered the scene, and pretended that they were keeping the law and order. Thousands of local people had met up to look at the „show“, the situation got more and more intense. The fascists had permission to hold their meeting between noon and 14 p.m., and we had announced that we would stay there until 14 p.m. For an hour, until the counter-demonstration was finished, the fascists and local youth stood covered by the police. A few hundred stones and bottles were hurled at the anti-fascists. There was little possibility to attack the fascists because of the local anti-fascists were total non-violent, they didn't want any confrontation. All this time it was possible for the fascists to mobilize those who were just standing on the sideline and watching.

This was also the first time that Arne Myrdal was standing openly together with militant neo-nazis. He has had contact with them for many years, but has consequently denied this to the public.

### Anti-fascists hurt

Myrdal had to finish his speech earlier than planned, and at 2 o'clock p.m. we started to walk together to the railwaystation, where the busses were standing. On our way back the counter-demonstration was heavily attacked by fascists. Many people were hurt by the stones, and several got badly beaten up by the fascists. An Iranian man was hit by a stone, and got an heartattack because of the shock. The anti-fascists had to hit their way out of the village. The clash ended up on the highway outside Brumunddal. The windows in one of the busses got smashed when the police forced the busdriver to drive through the fascists lines to pick us up.



## Press Attention

The confrontation caused a lot of press attention, all the newspapers wrote about it for weeks. The local media, which is dominated by social-democratic newspapers, massively criticized the people and politicians of Brumunddal for not taking their responsibility for the extreme racism which has grown so strong in Brumunddal. Lots of discussions took place in the media about how to fight racism, and why. For many weeks the papers was dominated by anti-fascist letters to the newspapers.

However, the commercial norwegian press in their desperat need of increasing their circulation, turned from informaive journalism and writing about anti-fascist activity to interviewing fascists. The nazi-skinhead group Boot Boys, who were some of the active, militant nazis in Brumunddal, were interviewd on Norwegian national TV-news. Boot Boys are lead by Ole Krogstad with other nazi-skins like Geir Brurok (former squatter and singer in the radical punkband Betong Hysteria) and Jan Holthe (a former UN-soldier in Lebanon). It was free „commercial“ for Boot Boys.

## New Public Meeting

Because of the clash in Brumunddal, the population was forced to take a stand. Many people didn't think that the racism was so big and that it could be any serious problem, but all the press-attention and the shock from the clash opened many peoples eyes. This became anti-racist. many citizens of Brumunddal have been brought up with racism printed into their brains, and have tought that to their children too.

## Local Mobilizing

Myrdal said his demo on August 31 was so successful that he wanted to come back. The local social-democratic anti-racist organisation (BPNV), which was formed earlier this year and which is lead by people high up in the local political system, called for an defensive demonstration against Myrdal and NMI. Their plan was to turn meet up and turn their backs to Arne Myrdal and his organisation, without shouting slogans and without banners. 4000 of Brumunddals citizens paricipated in the demo. This is quite important

because many people are still against the immigrants, but they don't want that the rest of the country look upon them as supporters of an extreme fascist like Arne Myrdal. After both of the demos the attacks on immigrants and anti-fascists continued. Some weeks

later some racists put up a 3 meter tall christian cross outside Brumunddal and set fire to it in Ku Klux Klan style, and 21 October fascists shot 4 bullets through the bedroom window of two iranians flat. One the shots hit the cuddon in the bed, luckily no one slept in the room that night.



## 10 000 demonstrating against Arne Myrdal!

NMI felt much stronger after the clash in Brumunddal, and 200-300 people supported NMI in their second public meeting.

In september Myrdal announced that he would have a public meeting in Oslo on October 26, in a surburb of Oslo (Stovner) where the racism is stronger, and where he knows it's easier to get away if he is attacked by anti-fascists. Last time he tried to have a public meeting in Oslo was in 1988. 3000 anti-fascists were mobilised to chase

him away, but he never dared to show his face. He knows that Oslo is a strong anti-racist zone, therefore he also set out rumours that he will have 1000 men with him to defend his meeting.

The local surburb council said that they did not want Myrdal in their part of the city, and the owner of the square where the meeting was supposed to be said that he did not want any meeting on his ground.

The police would not go against this, so Myrdal couldn't have his meeting at



Stovner. AMOR had already started mobilizing for a demo against racism on the 26 October at Stovner. About 200 people met up.

Later the police decided that Arne Myrdal was to have his meeting on November 9th (the crystal night) on a big square, Youngstorget, in the center of the city. This square is traditionally the Labour-movements square.

### Fascists Beaten

2 November Boot Boys wanted to demonstrate the power they thought they finally had gotten, by walking around the streets in Oslo and terrorizing black people and anti-fascists.

They had recruited new members with good help from the media, and 20-30 of them went to Oslo by train. They went through Oslo City (a big shoppingcenter), where a lot of youth gangs of black and white people, but strongly anti-fascist, hang around, shouting slogans and other ridiculous things. Around 8 o'clock in the evening they stormed a bar in Gamlebyen (part of the city where a lot of people from the scene around Blitz live in communities) where anti-fascists and SHARP-skinheads use to be, but there were only 4 anti-fascists in the bar then. 3 antifascists and one fascist were hurt. 40 anti-fascist reacted immediately, and the nazis were chased through the whole town-center. 4-5 nazis were found, but managed to get away in a taxi, by threatening the taxidriver with a knife. The police took him, but set him free after a short while. Some days later he was caught on the Swedish border with a loaded gun and two magazines. It was Johnny Olsen, a nazi who was convicted for murdering two boys in a nazi-intrigue 1979 and sentenced to 18 years imprisonment. Now he has lost all his permissions to be out of jail before he his sentence is finished in 3 years.

Later in the evening 20 anti-fascist found the nazi-skin leader Ole Krogstad standing together with two other nazi-skins at the railway station. He got badly beaten up. What the nazis had planned to be a start of a week of terror before the meeting 9 November turned out to be a total disaster for the nazis.

### November 9th

Many rumours were in the media in the week before November 9th, AMOR had been mobilizing for a counter-demonstration against Myrdals meeting for over 3 weeks. But the national trade union (LO) took no part in the mobilizing. The Labour Party said nothing, every bigger organization on the left side kept quiet. Only AMOR mobilized. Fascist attacks were expected in the week before, but the nazis did not dare. The communist daily newspaper wrote that nazi-skins from Sweden would come to support the public fascist meeting. And the two biggest tabloid newspapers wrote big articles about nazis in Germany and Norway.

### Antiracists split

The coming city council-leader of Oslo, Rune Gerdhardsen (Labour) said that people should stay home instead of participating in the demo against Myrdal, and the leader of the Socialist Left Party, Einar Mørland, also said so. But the city mayor Per N. Myhre (The Progress Party, liberalist right extremist) said to the media that the meeting should be moved to another date to avoid it being the same date as the crystal night, some people thought that it showed that he did not want Myrdal in Oslo. Probably the mayor thought it wouldn't look good in international terms, that Norway allows a nazi meetings on the same date as Hitler's crystal night. The national trade union (LO) planned to print a one-page announcement in a tabloid newspaper, saying that people should stay home, but luckily it was stopped. The leader of the Organization For Asylum seekers (NOAS), Annette Thommesen, and the bishop of Oslo, Andreas Aarflot, went out in the press and said that they wanted people to demonstrate against Myrdal by turning their backs to him at the demo. This method was used in Brumunddal when 4000 local people demonstrated against Myrdal's second meeting there. Some forces inside the

anti-racist movement and the media tried to divide the so-called extremists (AMOR) inside the anti-racist movement. People inside the Anti-racist Center and SOS-racism had on beforehand refused to work together with AMOR in the making of the 26 October demo. Now they did out together with the bishop and the big newspapers and demanded a "non-violent" anti-racist struggle, and a non-confrontation policy against the nazis. AMOR got pointed out as the violent extremists.

The cops promised control of all people who would come to demonstrate against the fascists. AMOR applied for having a demo against Myrdal on Youngstorget, but of course the police did not permit that.

This didn't seem to affect anybody. Myrdals meeting was going to start 2 o'clock and the counter-demonstrators started to come already 12 o'clock. The riot police had put up fences around the whole square, and everybody who wanted to get in was searched for weapons and bottles.

When the time reached 2 o'clock 10 000 people had met up to demonstrate against Arne Myrdal and his NMI. It was almost impossible to stop Myrdal, he was surrounded by cops, and he was standing on a balcony, 10 meters higher than the counter-demonstration. For an hour people shouted slogans against him. It was almost impossible to hear him, and after a while he gave up. During the whole demonstration people tried to tear down his speakers.

### Afterwards

10 000 people in a demonstration in Oslo is extremely much, it's years ago that so many people were to see in a demonstration. It has always been important for Arne Myrdal to be able to hold one of his public meetings in peace in Oslo, but until now he hasn't managed. The demo was described as a total victory for the non-violent anti-racism by the newspapers.

This is not wrong, but it is dangerous to say that Myrdal feels weakened by this demo. And for the anti-racist movement it means that AMOR will be pushed out, even more by the "non-violent" parts of the anti-racist movement.





## S W E D E N

from:

antifa-info no. 16 -

winter 1991



Antifascists demonstrated in front of german abassies in England and Sweden, spread out informations to the population and collect money to support antifascists in Germany as well as to support the refugees. This initiative comes out of the co-operation of the british antifa-newspaper ``Searchlight'', ``Stoppa Rassismen'' (Sweden) and ``Antifa-Info-Blatt'' (FRG).

On November, 9th over 1.500 people demonstrated in Stockholm in front of the german ambassies to protest against the fascist terror in Germany and to show solidarity with the antifascists and refugees. Also in the second biggest city over 200 people demonstrated in front of the german consulate and in the south-

swedish city Växjö there was also an action with this slogan. The action in Stockholm was one of the biggest anti-fascist demonstrations since many years. Meanwhile only few left-wing groups took part, a lot of workers of the harbour and the printing-

facilities have been at the demonstration. Delegates from ``Stoppa Rassismen'', immigrants-organisations and a veteran of the spanish civil-war spoke to the demonstrators. They hold the german government responsible for to have given rise to the fascist terror and to criminalize the victims and antifascists at the same time.



## Anti-Fascism Stockholm, 30.11.91

In Stockholm since more than 10 years every 30th of november a confrontation between fascists and antifascists takes place. Actual reason is that the "heroeking" Karl XII had died at 30th. november and this has to be "celebrated". At Stockholm this looks like that: in the middle of the city there is a market where a statue of Karl XII is standing and the fascists went there to lay down a wreath by the statue.

Of course these yearly fascists mobilizations have to be prevented and this year a counter demonstration was organized with exactly this aim. The last three years the cops managed it to protect the fascists demonstration. But this year it has been different. The first time since 1987 the antifascists demonstration (the biggest antifascist and as well left-wing demonstration since many years) could prevent that the fascists could reach their aim. First of all this is astonishing. The preparation work was marked by arduous discussions about the demonstration-concept and the antifascists of Stockholm couldn't agree to one demonstration. There were two demonstrations, a "cultural manifestation" during the day with 2-3000 participants and a demonstration at the evening that didn't want to avoid the confrontation with the fascists.

Against all expectations the second demonstration was bigger than the first. To the slogan "No fascists on our streets" 5-7000 people participated and this is to the Stockholm conditions nearly unbelievable. It can only be explained by that it was important for many people to declare their position right now. It becomes clear to many people that the fascists are a real threat by the developments in the last month in Sweden and in foreign countries. This wasn't clear to all before. The weeks before 30th of november some events, for example the racist murder of an Iranian, have escalated the situation further and the night before two cops shoot down a skinhead in Malmoe.

Besides the cops in Stockholm were prepared very well to guarantee the democratic rights of the fascists because the rampage feared by the medias for the 30th 11. was regarded as a test for the european football championship in june 1992. This is in short the background.

To the course of the demonstration: Between 6 and 7 p.m. 5-7000 demonstrators occupied the market where the fascists wanted to go. At 7.30 pm the cops demanded the participants to leave the place but they had no possibility to force through the demand and about the half of the people stayed at the market for 2 and a half hours. At 8 p.m. the fascists gathered in another part of the city and actually should march to the statue half an hour later. But the cops had to tell them that this would be unfortunately impossible. Nevertheless 3-500 disappointed fascists started to go in direction of the market. This time they directly attacked the cops and fight against them, what has been new. 100-150 fascists break through the police barrier and attacked the antifascist demonstration at the market with stones and bottles. But they have been chased away quickly and partly beaten too. Altogether 94 people have been arrested, few of them were antifascists.

Although the brawls have been only a small episode of the solid and peaceful antifascist manifestation round the statue of the "heroeking" the whole evening gets build up to "the battle of Kungstraedgarden" by the medias. That means the political content was reduced on violence totally. Fascists and antifascists were described as the same violent enemies of democracy. We in Sweden are even not used to this kind of medias propaganda. But it is important that the indictment comes almost only from above. Until today the impression is that most of the people who have been at the demonstration and a lot of others too accept and also protect the "infringement of the law". For the moment this means there is no actual fear of criminalization and/or splitting of the antifascist resistance. But it is the other way around, the wide

mobilization in Stockholm has created at the same time the requirements for a radicalization of the antifascist work. This years 30th of november is seen by left-wing radical people in general as a big success of the antifascist movement that is just at the beginning of its development.

In Lund, an other city in south of Sweden (the other place where Karl XII is celebrated and humiliated respectively) the antifascists also managed it to prevent the fascists demonstration. There the fascists couldn't do any step because the cops "couldn't guarantee their security". Along the marching-route of the fascists 2-300 antifascists had builded up barricades and successfully protected them against the cops. Here in Stockholm we couldn't give no more precise informations about this case. But it is our estimation that the both actions in Stockholm and Lund do complement one another very well.

hej hopp, nassestopp!  
antifascist greetings from Stockholm

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c/o Bokhandeln INFO  
Hornsgatan 151 S - 117  
34 Stockholm  
Sweden







Hoyerswedra: BGS (Federal Border Guard) blocks antifascist demonstration

## GERMANY

We think it's internationally known for a fact that there have been pogrom-like attacks on immigrants and their houses on and around the 3rd of October in Germany (Memorial Day of the German unification). Racism in society has become more and more obvious, as everybody might know as well.

Very many people of different backgrounds expressed their solidarity with immigrants spontaneously during the last couple of months especially after the 3rd of October. Many demonstrations took place against racism with huge numbers of people, locations where refugees have been put away were protected and guarded by antifascist groups or by local people from the nearby villages and cities, money was raised and support organised for the right of refugees to stay, sometimes by the means of partnerships. Many refugees have organised themselves against fascist attacks and the state-policy of extradition, which becomes worse and worse. This cooperation spreaded itself to also to German groups sometimes leading to actions, which were carried out together.

Antifascist or left-wing groups in general, engaged in a huge variety of actions from building up emergency telephone lists and protection for the refugee-homes to direct actions against fascists gathering points and demonstrations or against the filth which was printed in the media as well as against state institutions.

A few examples will be mentioned now to give an impression:

### **nanau and its surroundings, 14th and 15th of October,: an action to isolate fascists from society:**

slogans were sprayed at the houses or nearby walls of a number of leaders of the local Nazi-scene and pamphlets were distributed in the neighbourhood, to inform them about the persons that live in there midst. this action also found coverage in the media.

### **aachen at the 2nd of October, action against the tabloid "bild"**

(a paper of which 5 to 6 million copies are sold every day and which is playing a major role in the campaign against immigrants and refugees) distribution was sabotaged for a number of hours by 35 people. they entered the hall at 2.00 a.m. and caused a delay of more than one hour in there. from the pamphlet:

"immediately after the arrival of the bild-tabloid at the distribution-center later did a group of 35 search the grounds, nothing worked anymore inside between 2.15 and 3.30 a.m.. after cops and a manager have shown up, a compromise was elaborated.: we allow the trucks, which distribute the newspapers in the area of aachen to be loaded and to leave, but only if they don't transport any bild-papers. a truck



which has been loaded already, was freed of its cargo of bild-papers, we than guarded the pile, we guarded the process of wrapping up the stock of other papers and even checked the trucks again before leaving the gate, to be really sure. the whole thing worked almost until 5.00 a.m. when the boss of the political police-department k 14 (this time without tie, unshaved and with uncombed hair, bearly awake and in an extremely bad mood a sight we will cherish for ever more) urged the managers of the plant to put out an complaint against us. out of strategic reasons we then left the plant and blocked the its only gate. it took the cops until 5.30 to bring the last trucks out in convoy and as they were outnumbering us, we couldn't really resist them when being pushed aside. at our common breakfast in the autonomous center we listened to the radio, where they confirmed twice on the news that it hadn't be just a dream - later in the evening it got coverage on tv as well. according to the distribution-plant's comment the bild only got delivered at 6.30 a.m. - something which doesn't surprise us.

### frankfurt: left-wing anti-fascist and anti-racist groups have set up an information- and emergency- telephone.

the telephone-number is known within the whole city, especially by foreigners and refugees. contacts have been made with houses and centers of refugees. calls should be made by attacks and raids from racists together with information or observations about larger gatherings of fascists, skinheads or hooligans. then help and solidarity or other suitable mesures are immedeately organized, pointed at preventing or obstructing the fascist or racist terror. "...we see this as an expression of practical solidarity with refugees and immigrants and as one way to resist the racist terror on the streets..."(quoted from a leaflet). apart from that, this is an attempt to organise the anti-fascist self-aid, to discuss with the aim of building up structures which are able to respond and to bring this beyond the left-radical scene. (oct. 91)



Refugees and supportes in Neumünster

### Neumünster & Norderstedt

(in the land of Schleswig-Holstein): At the 12th of September 91 sixty refugees occupied the Anshar church in Neumünster to prevent themselves from being deported to Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, a land in the former GDR. They demanded not to be deported and the right to stay, as well as open borders for all. These demands are based on the Convention of Geneva, in which one paragraph explicitley forbids the states that undersigned this convention to deport refugees to regions, where there are safety isn't guaranteed because of their colour, religion or polotical conviction.

A lot of brutal attacks by racists on refugees' homes took place at this particular period in the former GDR and beside that the living conditions in the new lands are generally much worse as in the old.

Not only do they have to deal with escalating racism, but also with the lack of medical and legal aid overthere.

Some of the refugees went on hungerstrike whilst in the church, others also looked for refuge and joined the group to prevent beeing deported to the former GDR, where as outside people organised demonstrations etc- to support their demands.

Six and a half month later depor-

tation took place to Greifswald in Mecklenburg Vorpommern despite allefforts under the massive pressure of the government of the land and the church.

They were attacked by armed fascists youth, as had been expected already. immigrants and autonomous supporters then immediately organised a car convoy at their demand to return them to Neumünster. Next morning they went to Norderstedt where they live in the Schalom church since the mids of november. The board of the church as well as the government of the land have put massive pressure on the refugees to return to the former GDR. The policy they try to push through aims on housing refugees in the districts where they await the decision on their request for asylum. They threatened to criminalize the "vanguard" of the refugees and to evict the church by police force. Apart from that they tried to split up the refugees from one another and from their supporters. The occupants are being supported politically and practically by a variety of groups like immigrants, christians and autonomous people, who try to make the demands publicly known in an attempt to create the political pressure, necessary to achieve their goals.

By the end of '91 this resulted in an agreement which said the occupance could stay in Schleswig Holstein until a decision has been made on thier request for asylum. Other refugees are still being deported to the former GDR however.

**bielefeld** in a pub, well known as regulary meeting point for organized fascists, autonomous anti-fascists threw in a stinkink fluid and not just a little bit! during the night, they cut out the window-glass and installed a container under pressure which then sprayed 5 liters of the fluid (dez '91)



# Thoughts and discussion-parts towards Racism and Resistance

*Preface: We are no members of antifa-groups but are concentrated in our political practice on different other subjects. Like many other people during the last month we did a lot in protecting refugee-centers of left-wing projects. Our discussion towards the racist/fascist development, it's new quality, is still very incomplete and not finished. Correspondingly the following text is just a contribution for the discussion and not a mature point of view.*

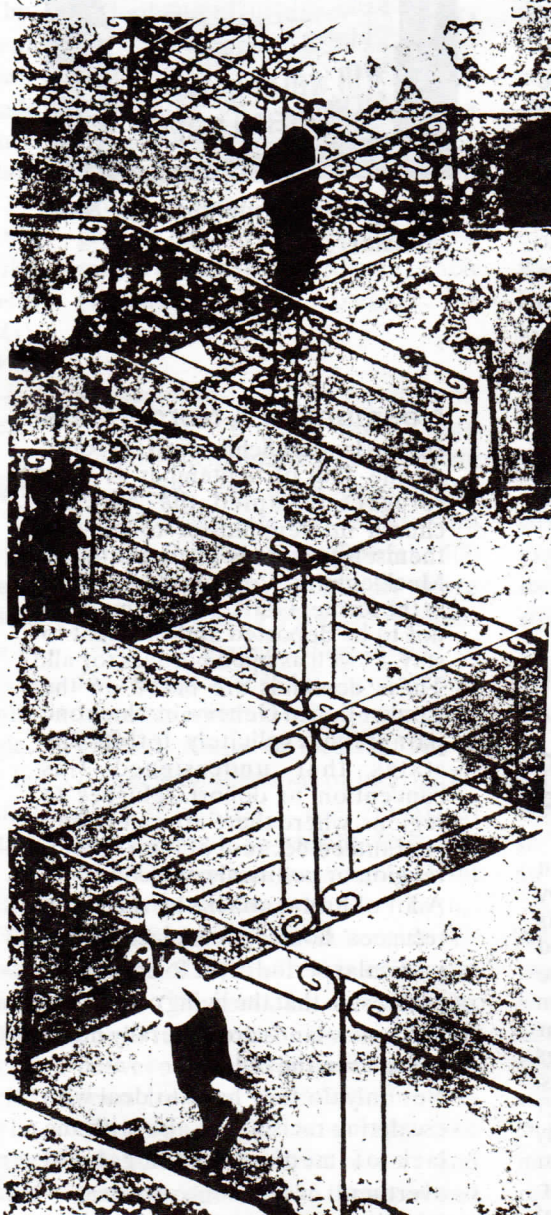
In the last month the racist/fascist tendencies in Europe increased - big election successes of the fascists in Belgium, uncountable brutal attacks on refugees and foreigners in Germany, increasing attacks in entire Scandinavia, in Switzerland, Austria, England,...

The general background is the coordinated attempt of the european governments to lock out foreigners from West-Europe. Inside the rich industrialized countries of the north the contradiction between rich and poor shall not get to strong, shall stay outside.

But it will continue that more and more people flee the East and the South to West-Europe because of war, famine, water-shortage, climatic catastrophes and also furtheron because of political persecution, torture and murder for to survive. Just as the contradictions within the west-european states will increase, that means f. ex. the fears and existential problems of a part of the people living in Europe.

In the last month we were shocked above all by the massive scale of the fascist/racist thoughts and actions receive and acceptance. Why do so many people let themselves instigate? Why f. ex. are former

resistance fighters against the german Nazi-occupation in Norway today members of the norwegian fascists? Why do former left-wing people in FRG (and as well in other countries) declare that they are still against the capitalists but also against the foreigners because they also will only take the money away from 'us'?



## Unbroken Racism

Racist thinking is existing for hundreds of years and has never been really broken. Especially not in the industrialized states with their 500 years old history of exploiting and plundering other people and countries.

Racist thoughts are part of socialization and there are enough descriptions of racism f. ex. in North-Italy against the people from South-Italy or in Germany against the workers from Turkey. But during the last 30 years there have never been such massive attacks against foreign people like now. There are other facts contributing to today's increasing racism.

## Existential fears

In all west-european countries the effects of the capitalist restructurization come to fruition. Housing-shortage exists everywhere and the reports about the yuppification of the Inner-Cities and the destruction of cheap rooms are exactly the same - no matter if they come from Milano, Barcelona, Paris, Zürich, London, Amsterdam, Hamburg or Oslo.

The fear for being turned out onto the streets is also everywhere the same.

Similar it is with joblessness, that is tendentially increasing and with the step by step dismantling of the "social net".

Many are already affected by this, that means they went down socially or are short before doing so. Others

are afraid of that the same will happen to them and live in permanent unsureness/danger.

The special consequences of two-thirds society come in addition too. F. ex. in the former GDR every fifth person calls him/herself poor. Often this doesn't mean poor in the sense of not enough to eat, to wear or education, which is also increasing more and more in East- and as well in West-Germany. But it is meant to be 'poor' compared with the standard of living of the upper two-thirds (who mostly live in West-Germany). This understanding of poverty which is existing in West-Germany as well, compares itself to the external appearances of the capitalist daily-life.



### Social impoverishment

In the capitalist centers other worthes are meanwhile nearly destroyed. F. ex. social worthes like community spirit, helpfulness and respect for the others human heart. Here everything works by money and external wealth. The conditions for that are achievement-orientation, borderless egoism, human coldness. Today there is a downright vacuum, an empty space for basic human needs. That means there is f. ex. no space, no possibility to live human needs like getting together, self-fulfilment, doing useful things a.s.o.. The substitute-worthes of consumption consist of external appearances and do all cost a lot of money. It is mostly the youth who feel this very strong. If people, who grow up nearly without social worthes, got taken away the substitute-worthes of consumption too, nothing will remain.

Then the delimitation against people who are 'different', who have even lesser, who have a different culture is an 'easy way' to rise one's self-esteem and to give one's fear and anger an easy target. To direct one's anger against the really responsible persones would be the correct way but only few choose this one.

### Left's weakness

The fact that a lot of people join the Rights has a lot to do with the weakness of the Left. We just have to think it the other way round - if there would be stronger struggles of the Left on subjects like housing or jobs, if the enemy in state and business would be named by these struggle massively in practice and if there would be space for many people in these struggles to be active themselves - it never would be so easy for the state to display racism for to avert from itself and to stire up the suppressed against each other. With the isolated existance as left-wing "scene" we are no visible possibility, no alternative for others. Often our groups are a mirror of the whole social reality and not at all a human world. F. ex. that also among ourselves it is attached importance to external appearances - just the other way round. Or the individualism that is prevailing among ourselves too. Often the practice is missing, our continuous intervening and consequent struggle for our interests. There would be good chances for a strong Left yet because of the lot of contradictions, but they were nearly not realized nor taken into practice.

### States propaganda

The state sees the contradictions created by capitalist policy and the possible resistance and struggle of the affected people. It tries to prevent this and to avert from itself.

Also in Germany the more than 1.000 attacks on refugees would have not happened if the states-politicians and medias had not made a purposeful propaganda on that subject: Short time after the parliamentary elections, facing tax-increase and further shortening in the "social net" it began. CDU/CSU (Christ-Democratic Union/Christian-Socialy Union, both governing parties in FRG) started with a public debate about a change of the constitution in asylum-right and so for month they pumped the slogans via all medias into all heads - a refugee-invasion is very near, refugees take away money, houses, jobs, "the boat is crowded", the refugees have to get away from here...!!! Also SPD (Social-Democratic Party) and the Greens collaborated in their way in this instigation. The result: It became "presentable" to attack refugees.

We think that we have to confront with the racist/fascist mobilisation on the longer term and on different levels. It's also not o.k. to push all responsibility and reflection onto the antifa-groups. To organize direct

protection and solidarity for refugees and all people affected by the terror as well as to organize effective self-protection is a task for all (and not an easy one). But only to react on the attacks is not enough.

On one hand we are confronted with fascist organisations getting stronger and on the other hand with a socialy mass-reaction. The practice of the antifa-groups for years and often successful with the aim to drive back, isolate and finally to smash the fascists politically and practically is a partial answer on this.



Meanwhile we are confronted with questions we still have to reply in practical attempts. How can we get the better of the increasing racism reasons? That means racism as a part of socialization; the existential problems, housing and work; the social emptiness and destroyed human worthes. And the fact that anyhow people are forced to leave their country to live a rootless live here in a strange culture.

We can only imagine to find answers on these questions in the frame of the construction of a different, human world. Anyhow people can get a possibility to decide on the struggle against fascism and racism only by visible and attractive alternatives. Only if it get's clearly visible that there can also be something else than the elbow-cality of everyone fighting against each other.



F.ex. squattered houses or centers are one possibility. But only if we use our knowledge about solidarity and collectivity, about alienation and isolation, about patriarchal determined structures and racism too. That means if in our groups or centers a really collective process is going on; if everyone can find out and transpose her/his capabilities, needs and interests, if one helps another to solve existential problems...

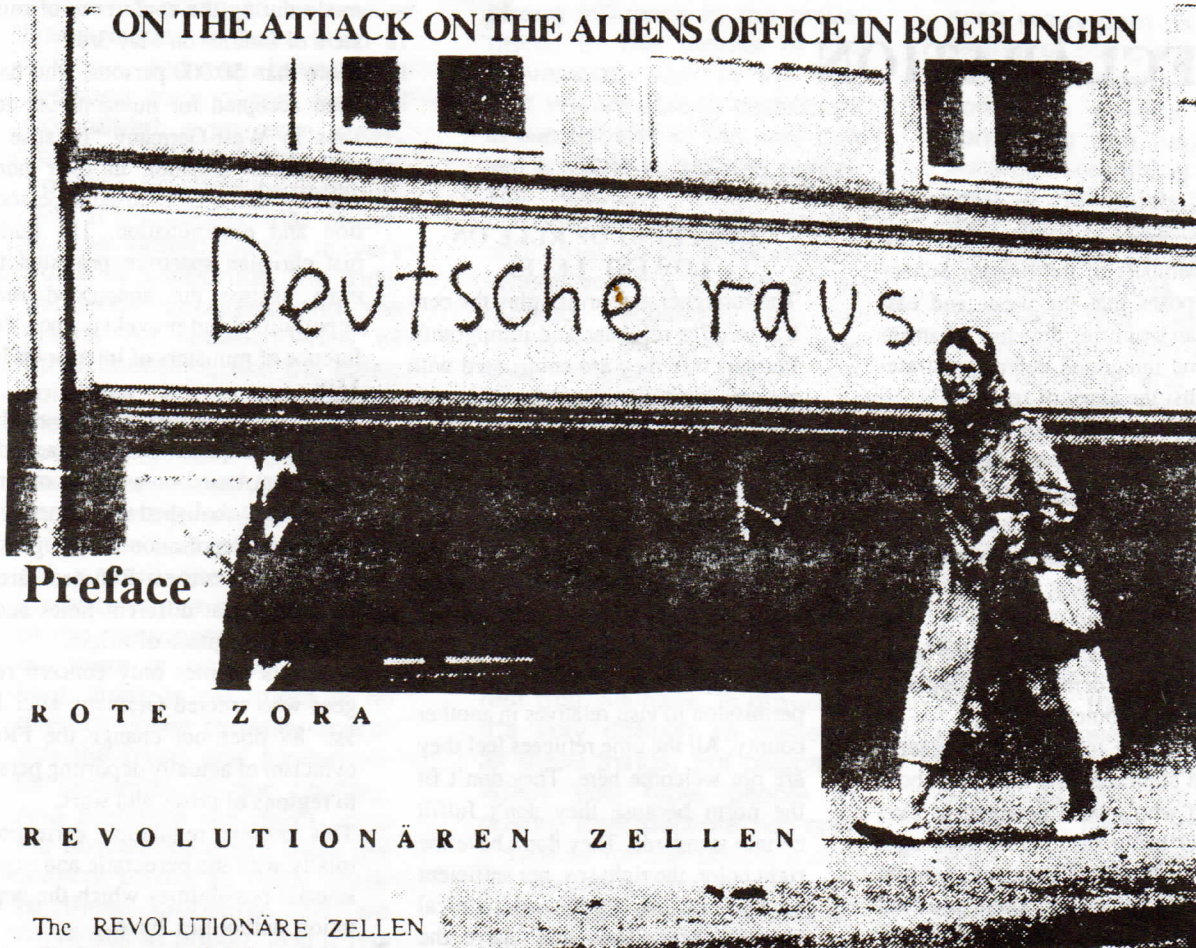
We can do away with racism practically if we organize ourselves together with foreign people and foreign organisations in concrete struggles, f. ex. in antifascist/antiracist work or in struggles against the destruction of quarters and cheap rooms.

In the publicity-work on squatting houses f. ex. we can pick out states propaganda against the refugees as a central theme and make clear who are the persons responsible for housing shortage.





# DECLARATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CELLS ON THE ATTACK ON THE ALIENS OFFICE IN BOEBLINGEN



## Preface

ROTE ZORA

REVOLUTIONÄREN ZELLEN

The REVOLUTIONÄRE ZELLEN (Revolutionary Cells)

In the beginning of the 70's the REVOLUTIONÄRE ZELLEN (RZ) arose as a third guerilla in FRG besides the RAF (Red Army Fraktion) and the BEWEGUNG 2. JUNI (Movement of the 2nd of June), of which the last does not exist anymore.

The members of the different cells are living in legality. But for doing their political actions they organize themselves in little groups working separately from each other but being connected by a clandestine system of communication. This way allows them to act as a guerilla as well as to be directly in contact to political and social movements and to work in there. Their political background is to consider activities (f.ex. stealing, fare-dodging, strike off work, fleeing) objectly directed against imperialism, racism and patriarchy as a way of resistance.

From the outset their main topics were i.a. the direct international solidarity, especially for the palestinian liberation movements, and actions directly useful in a material way for other people, f ex. the printing and distributing of tickets for the public tram-pat. In the middle of the 80's the resistance against the imperialistic refugee policy became their main action target.



The ROTE ZORA (Red Zora)

Parallel to the REVOLUTIONÄRE ZELLEN, women are organizing themselves in the ROTE ZORA (RZ). They see themselves as radical, antiimperialistic feminists having their origine in the women's movement. Initially they directed their politics against the paragraph 218 (Abortion-paragraph) and they worked inside the women's movement to that theme. Later on they set up the international solidarity as their main topic. They directed their political actions against the international trade with women, imperialist population policy and sextourism.

When female textile workers were on strike in South Korean's Flair Fashion factory, a subsidiary of the west german "Adler" company, the ROTE ZORA attacked this company in the FRG with several fire-bombs in order to support their struggle.

As the members of the REVOLUTIONÄRE ZELLEN, the women organized in ROTE ZORA also live in legality.



# DECLARATION

In the morning you hear the news: "Minister of the Interior Schauble proposes that the west- and east European countries develop a harmonised and integrated defensive strategy against the entry of refugees".

You pass the bakery. In the shop you hear the shop assistant saying to a customer: "You've got to be careful. Always they steal". Talking about black-skinned men, standing in front of the shelves. At midday, you open the newspaper to read the headline: "Refugee hostel fire-bombed". Some residents were brought to hospital, overcome by fumes.

You are going to town. You meet a Kurdish comrade. She tells you about a friend who's been detained in Turkey after being deported a week ago. She was tortured several days. At night you enter a scene-pub. There you read on a poster: "International party for international understanding with foreign food and African drum music."

For sure, this is only a small part of what we hear, read and see daily.

Examples for a daily racism and the intention to exterminate, to whom immigrants are permanently exposed while living here. Situations that provoke our rage and hatred against the responsables.

But by our political work we learn that consternation is not a sufficient basis for continuous political activities. Only an analysis of relations of power, for example racism as an integral part of the imperialist exploitation and by means of everybody's racist socialisation this is socially covered. This analysis enables us to find starting points for revolutionary resistance. In addition, merely consternation can provoke us to regard refugees and immigrants only as victims instead of noticing their daily resistance against existing relations of rule and oppression.

Necessarily we have to drop our racist point of view and to widen our angle of vision: in overcrowded camps or in villages in the former GDR, in offices or on the street - all over they fight their discrimination and for a better life. They organise themselves and demonstrate, occupy, hungerstrike and so on.

## COVERING OF RULE ON LOWEST LEVEL.

The foreigner authorities play the central role for refugees and immigrants. Permanently they are confronted with racism, institutionalised by those authorities. On the base of the Aliens Act and other special laws, they decide about residential status, working permit or extradition. Apart from this legal racism, the refugees are affected by the racism and have to oppose their despotism, harassment and humiliations. The officials play with their power, for example when they refuse to give a permission to visit relatives in another county. All the time refugees feel they are not welcome here. They don't fit the norm because they don't fulfill certain standards. They don't have the right color, the right sex, nor sufficient housing or the conformed political consciousness. They don't have the right culture, the right religion, the useful capacity for work nor the right origin.

The mechanisms that protect the imperialist, racist and patriarchal power reach out to the lowest levels. The officials select refugees and immigrants at their useability. The officials control their daily life and their political activities. The officials start to deport refugees and immigrants when they are not useful anymore. Even an individual, socially concerned official cannot change the fact that she/he is the dogsbody of the imperialist migration politics.

## THE INJUSTICE IS NOT ANONYMOUS. IT HAS A NAME AND AN ADDRESS (B.BRECHT)

i.e. The Aliens Office in the Steinstrasse in Boeblingen on 22. August of '91 we have ignited an explosive device at this office.

The attack on de facto refugees.

With the introduction of the so-called new Alien Act on Jan. 1st 1991, those in power in west-Germany disclosed a new stage in their fight against people of non-EC countries.

It is the base of the deportation of de facto refugees. Decisions which were

made during the conference of ministers of Interior on May 3rd.

More than 50.000 persons, who have been accepted for humanitarian reasons in West-Germany "because of the special situation in their home country" are to be exposed to persecution and extermination. The humanist christian spectrum protested the most against the announced mass deportations and provoked a new conference of ministers of Interior on July 15th.

Those in power changed the modalities of the deportations and reached an agreement based on a policy of small steps. They abolished the former general stop of deportation for refugees on particular countries. Refugees are to be deported at different times according to their place of origin.

That this politics only concern refugees who entered Germany after Jan. 1st '89 does not change the FRG's cynicism of actually deporting persons to regions of crises and wars.

This present regulation corresponds totally with the bureaucratic and organisational possibilities which the deportation authorities have.

We think that it aims on calming down the reformist and christian spectrum and on splitting and isolating the united and solidary resistance of the persons affected.

The de facto refugees, threatened by deportation, only have the chance for an individual case-study. Many know that this way is hopeless and leave the country "voluntarily", or try to enter another country illegally.

## WAR ON IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES. INFLUX CONTROL AND SELECTION.

Already before the Schengen agreement becomes a law in EC countries the position of refugees and immigrants gets worse in regard to their safety.

For example France wants to act rigorously against legal and illegal refugees and deport more than 70.000 of them. A French governmental spokesman consequently calls this policy against the illegal immigrants war.

It's a war in Italy, which is made most brutally against Albanian refugees. The Italian authorities don't recoil in detaining thousands of people in the stadium of Bari to deport them afterwards. By the intended insufficient



food-supply, the bad medical treatment and the use of weapons they accepted injuries and deaths.

It's a war which often kills people already when for example they flee from Maghreb under highly dangerous circumstances over the sea to Spain.

At the borderline between North and South the war will get the snap of the USA's war, who are shooting at immigrants at the Rio Grande already for years.

In the meantime in every imperialist country it's obvious, how this special war looks like and how it will develop. The bourgeois press spread a bogey of "floods of refugees", as if it would not be well known that the majority of the migrants (80 % of them women and children) flee within the three continents itself. Only a small part of the people who flee reach Europe. It's also well known that the imperialist patriarchal and racist policy of exploitation of imperialist countries contributes on the massive destruction of subsistence economy in the three continents. That is one of the main reasons for the world-wide movement of migration.

The impact of this destruction affects women & men in different ways. Compared to men, the women's chance of working for money in distant countries or other continents is much smaller. They are less mobile because they have to contribute to the provision of the family.





When they flee they mostly flee to neighbouring regions or countries, vegetate in refugee camps, or try to organize their sheer survival in the slums of big cities. At best the youngest and healthiest of them are used in the world-market factories. A lot of women are only able to survive when they prostitute themselves. Often they have to sell their bodies to white sex-tourists.

Only the last few years more women, out of certain countries of the three continents and eastern europe, come to western europe (and the other rich imperialist countries). Here they have to face a patriarchal legislation, which makes them into appendices of men (husbands). And they have to deal with a sexist climate which forces them to prostitute themselves to the racist/sexist interests of white men.

Also in the rich imperialist countries women have the task to reproduce "their" men. Reasons to flee that are specific for women aren't accepted in the asylum procedure. As wives they don't have an independant, protected right of residence.

Only a "lucky" few find the road into the rich North. Their existences are determined by the consequences of imperialist exploitation, ecological destruction and the wars and freedom fights that subsequently follow from this. What immigrants write about this: "Today, where almost 20 million immigrants are in european countries, everybody has to face reality: the fact that an exodus is taking place from poverty to wealth. This exodus is caused by 500 years of colonial history, new colonialism and the current export- and war economy. Poverty and starvation are present in large parts of the world because of this colonialist and imperialist exploitation policy which has been going on for centuries. Because of this policy, people who are living in the imperialist countries are privileged and live in wealth. This is why people who immigrate from poverty to wealth, have a right to stay here. No matter for what reasons they came. This migration has to be seen as a kind of warfare against those who caused the poverty. And also to make clear that the immigrants have a rightful claim on all the goods that have

been stolen from their countries all these centuries"

(from: Radikal 142)

The old "New" world order, (which at this moment drops it's last masks in regard of immigrants and refugees) shows openly - for those who want to see it - how the imperialist policy functions as a global model. The status quo in the relatively peaceful imperialist countries can only be protected when 75 % of the world stays dependant. Systematic empoverishment and extermination are the principles. That hereby several countries and half continents are considered and thrown away as rubbish, doesn't concern the citizens of the imperialist countries at the least.

In Europe the FRG policy sets the measure for the defense-war (against war) which the other european countries have to accept. (FRG-centrist point of view !!! the transl.) Those in power prepare themselves for it; juridically, politically, ideologically and militarily.

They'll pick out the human raisins; well-educated, easy assimilable people from the three continents and in the







future also from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The rest, when not useful for a short while, will be deported. Reuter of Daimler-Benz and Geisler of the CDU (Christian Democratic party in the FRG, the transl.) agree with each other about the German and European right-wing forces; "immigration in the right measure" is the slogan for the future. It's easy to see what measure this will be.

Refugees and immigrants are not the problem, as long as they let themselves be employed for the benefit of the "money-making lifestyle". Or as cheap non-protesting hamburger producers at McDonald's or as Czechoslovakian or Polish season workers in the building and construction industry, agriculture and catering trade. Or as refugees in forced labour for 2.50 DM in the Bavarian forest, or as erotic-exotic prostitutes and/or housewives. Or if they're able to enrich the dreary German day-to-day reality as entertainment artists. Only in this way are they welcome.

The selection criteria catalogue is an undeniable part of the influx control and deportation policy. Everywhere in Europe refugees and immigrants are selected, selectively put to use, made usable according to gender, exchanged and controlled.

It is important that their potential usefulness can be determined quickly

enough - the European selection experts are already waiting.

Those who are rejected, like f.e. the Roma, will hardly get the chance to reach the wealthy European imperialist countries anymore.

The Roma are always the last, that are needed and wanted here, and they are always the first to be deported.

In this way, next to the sexism, functions a brutal, calculating racism, pretending to be multicultural, as an instrument of oppression.

### THE HELPLESSNESS OF THE LEFT.

Immigrants and refugees who are coming here act with the purpose of reclaiming their chances for living, their health and their dignity.

Those in power have understood this for a long time already, contrary to the left in the imperialist countries.

Immigrants write about this:

"Unfortunately the majority of the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist left in this country can't understand this anti-imperialist approach. This process of migration, result of the expulsion and uprooting of millions of people, that should also be understood as the revenge of the disinherited and as a declaration of war against the capital, leaves the German left helpless and paralysed" (from: Radikal no. 142)

When the left 'only' reduces itself into dealing with the deportation side of the migration policy and ignores the side of selective exploitation in their post-modern lifestyle, it contributes to the re-enforcement of the global relations of exploitation.

The 'profit' they still get, corrupts and dulls the view on patriarchal, racist and imperialist interests. It makes the protest against deportations roll away like crocodile tears and paralyses the development of own radical starting points for action.

### WHAT TO DO? TO DO!

The decision to resist against imperialist refugee-politics is a practical consequence of our anti-imperialist self-consciousness.

For solidarity is not only the support of liberation movements, but also materialises in our practical solidarity with refugees and immigrants here. It finds its necessary expression in the attack on the responsible ones for the Aliens Act, the perpetrators behind their desks, the deportation-pigs and the white-collar executive officers.

Although anti-imperialism has always played an important role in leftist theory and practice, the patriarchal and racist bases of worldwide exploitation only became, and only in an initial stage, part of the left-radical spectrum. We fight for a society without domination.

Therefore we have to point out the different forms of oppression and the social contradictions that we want to abolish. Freedom to us means the elimination of exploitation of humans by humans and the end of all patriarchal and racist relations of power.

We will, as a white group, fight here for anti-racist ideals and transform that in an independent debate and political practice. In that, we still have more questions than ready answers.


Our starting point, our political aim and our political (day-to-day) practice must therefore be discussed and analysed again and again. Our credibility is not only determined by our written analyses but decisively so also by our practice.



We have solidarity with refugees and immigrants and by that we take up positions. Errors and contradictions will always emerge in that.

We do not fight in place of and for refugees and immigrants, but we hope that we can develop perspectively a political power, together with them, as well as with other social groups.

We see independant organising and practice as a base for this perspective. How this cooperation can look like, wether it will be in alliances or in mixed groups, the future will show. For us the question poses itself how we can contribute and what preconditions we have to create from our side.



Ausländer-  
Polizei →

As white leftists and white feminists we profit from racist oppression, and we know that it is not enough to reject the advantages offered by the system, and to pretend as if we could simply put ourself on the other side. As white men and women we have to get conscious about the fact that we are part of a long-lasting history of world-wide colonial and imperialist exploitation and of the many-sided resistance of people against that.

We see the difficult, but absolutely necessary task to reappraise and critically appropriate this historical inheritance very exact starting with our position as leftists in an imperialist country.

It's a theoretical and practical process, that cannot succeed individually, smoothly and superficially, but has to be worked out in the long run together with people of the anti-imperialist re-

sistance, with refugees and immigrants. In this way international solidarity can become vivid, and as it becomes practical it can be directed against those responsible for the imperialist destruction, without denying our imperialist history.

Out of this internationalist consciousness we understand and experience the abolishment of racist splitting, exploitation and oppression mechanisms as a part of our own liberation and as a part of the liberation of all structures of oppression. It will be a long road full of contradictions, for which there is no alternative.

It is about breaking through the getting used to daily racist and sexist attacks, to become more sensitive and powerful on all political levels. That means also to tear the local aliens authority's practice out of the shadow of anonymity, to shed light upon the places of day-to-day racism against refugees and immigrants, and to attack them. The work of the deportation pigs has to be hindered and stopped, wherever that is possible for us.

We know that in the moment only a few people here in the imperialist countries show solidarity with refugees and immigrants. But the aim of our struggle is to develop exactly this solidarity, to wrench from those in power their instruments for splitting and exploitation.

Revolutionary Cells.



# A U S T R I A

from INFO-DISTRIBUTOR no. 23, November 1991, Vienna

On November, 2nd, an antiracist Demonstration took place in Vienna that had: **"We want to have no slaves under us and no masters on top!"** as slogan. About 1.000 people took part in the demonstration, among them there were 120 people from Bangla Desh, who at the moment live in Traiskirchen (refugee-center). First time since long time there was no police-row and anyhow the demo was very nice.

During the demo there was fascist alarm from Linz (city in Austria): there the fascists held a manifestation at the main place, at the evening they wanted to attack the International Cultural Center. Within few hours hundrets of antifascist from half Austria came to Linz and prevented the fascists plans.

Below we document the appeal of IGARA to the demonstration.

taken from INFO-distributor no. 22  
Oktober 1991 from Vienna

## **Appeal of IGARA (Initiativ against xenophobia, rassism and deportation(?))**

for the protest demonstration on  
November 2nd in Vienna

## **Stop with discrimination and stirring up against "foreigners"**

In Austria the living conditions for colleagues and school kids from other home-countries is getting more and more worse. They nearly have no rights. Most of them have to live in the worst but relatively most expensive rooms. They have to do the haviest but worst payed work. They are having the lowest chances for getting an education place, or even a place at a secondary school or university. Always they are living with the threat of getting deported.

And that's not all, politicians and medias build up the "foreigners" as austrian populations scapegoat. Not the housing-speculators nor rationalizing orientated on profits are said to be responsible for housing shortage, unemployment, low wages and pensions but exactly those who are the most discriminated ones.

The yeeling against the so-called "Ausländerflut" (refugee-flood) is getting louder and louder. By this it shall be drown that it is especially the austrian foreign policy and the international business of austrian companies who are contributing to the flee of thousands from their home-countries. (weapon-exports, credits to fascist and racist regimes a.s.o.)

In the last time the yelling against scholl kids from other countries is particularly strong, to put the responsibility for the school misery on them. The FPÖ (liberal party of Austria) is craying that "not more than 10 % immigrants" are "bearable" in school-classes. The ÖVP (austrian peoples party) demands that not more than 1 immigrant for each 'Inländer' (native) "should be allowed in school-classes. Teachers who recently stood up against xenophobia in an elementary school in Voralberg (austrian province), became transfered for disciplinary reasons.

Rudeness in trams, attacks by fascists, police-raid against employment seekers and kids, houndings on refugees by army and gendarmerie at the border and in Traiskirchen (refugee-center), deportations, whereby even the minimum of human rights get kicked - all this is daily life for people who have no austrian passport or are regarded as immigrants.



An underhanded campaign was strated by the Ministry of Interior, "accidentally" right at the beginning of the election campaign: "No fear" of "Foreigners". Police and army were said to control the situation, only "usefull foreigners" would be allowed in the country in limited numbers. The Grünen (Green party) tend to support the same policy by saying that they most certainly will not be a party to "welcome all foreigners".

By this way a downright incitement of the people is instigated on the back of refugees, foreign workers and school kids during the election campaign. Quite rasist-fascist tones

against "Kulturmischmasch" (culture mixture) and "Überfremdung" (foreign-swamping) are striked-up quite officialy not only by FPÖ.

By this also a signal is given to the openly fascist gangs, skins, hooligans, "Ausländer Stop"-nazis ("Stop foreigners"-fascists) to go forward with their propaganda for the "final solution of the foeigners question".

**It's urgent to take up common actions against all this!**

In reality we native and immigrant workers, school kids have common interests. If we let devide us for reasons of origin or nationality into

"1st class people" and "2nd class people" and attack each other this is only a profit for those who treat all of us. History has shown us dreadfully where this will lead. Who believes that it will not come that hard has f.e. only to look at Germany. Legitimate demands like more and cheap rooms, shorter working-hours, smaler school-classes and better education we can only reach together. Deliberately we can never reach a human future if we accept the lack of rights, discrimination and treating like animals of a part of our colleagues or accept the suppression of other peoples.





## Switzerland:

Also here the attacks on refugees are increasing and racism rises. Since summer fascist vigilantes attack left-wing demonstrations again. In October and November the attacks on refugees accumulated.

**21.11.91: Bern.** In the inner-city of Bern a manifestation was held by 50 people, organized by the "Green Alliance", after a refugee center in Köniz was being shot at with a machinegun two nights before.

**26.11.1991: Bern.** Because of the attacks on a refugee-center in Konolfingen (16.10.) the attack in Köniz (20.10.), and the death of an angolian refugee, who was driven into Aare (river in Bern) by the cops after running away from his extradition (21.10), another manifestation was held in the inner-city of Bern.

**7.11.91. Antifascist demonstration:** Within the last weeks the violence against refugees in the Kanton Bern (province of Bern) has increased frighteningly. More and more often refugee-centers are attacked. The fire-bomb attack in Thun and the sharp shots in Köniz are just two examples. To put a signal against this fascist violence, the scholar-coordination of the city of Bern called up for a manifestation against racism. About 400 people, mostly school kids, answered this call.

**19.11.91: Bern.** In relation to an attack with molotov-cocktails on a refugee-center where tamil refugees are living in Lotzwil (7.11.) - at which happily enough "only" material damage was caused - 150 demonstrators (under them also tamils from the nearest town) went with torches and Banners from Langenthal till Lotzwil. In front of the attacked house a reminding-watch was held, and many of them stayed the whole night. During the demonstration there was some trouble with "automobilists". (In Switzerland there is a fascist party, that calls itself "Autofahrerpartei")

taken from "Nachrichten aus dem Widerstand in der Schweiz" (News from the resistance in Switzerland), and "Megaphon" (Newspaper from Bern)



# After A Long Silence...

## An Interview With RARA

*Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action (RARA) is a clandestine group active in the Netherlands that has carried out attacks in support of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. The main targets of these attacks have been multi-national corporations that have ties or are integral parts of the apartheid structure. More recently they shifted their attention to the racist refugee and immigration policies of the Dutch government (as well as the rest of Europe) by attacking state agencies that are responsible for carrying out these policies.*

### Why the interview?

We have been rather silent for quite some time. But during that time, we have had a number of discussions about current political perspectives and the changing situation in the world and in The Netherlands.

We were faced with the choice of communicating in our usual manner through communiques, or to find another format which would make it easier to get into these matters. We chose this format because it gives us an opportunity to discuss contemporary situations. At the same time it gives us a chance to go into more depth on issues which we find most important. The present situation is wretched. The radical/revolutionary debate is dulled, fragmented, and without orientation. This is especially true in the countries in the northern hemisphere. We find it important to add a contribution to the discussion and to open a dialogue with people who have not yet lost their will to fight, despite the fact that the end of history and the end of ideology have been proclaimed.

### Why have things been quiet for so long?

There are several reasons for this, but the main one we'd like to mention is the fact that we needed some time to analyze what exactly has changed and to see what conclusions we should and shouldn't link to our praxis. When we speak of changes we mean the acute deepening of the crisis on the left, the lack of direction of the left, and the changing perspective.

### In what sense has the perspective changed?

The 'victory' of capitalism over socialism seems

so overwhelming that many people in the North seem to have forgotten that capitalism itself is now in a period of crisis. Because despite all the praise being showered on the social-market economy, the contradictions are growing in the northern hemisphere. The explosive situation of the Black population in the US is more than a false note in this praise. Things which seemed almost at hand ten years ago are now mere topics of discussion. The content of leftist politics in particular has become totally watered down. In the seventies, the Left was still concerned with changing the entirety of social relationships, both nationally and internationally. Now the Left has retreated into "debating the big questions."

This is evident when one looks at Groen Links (the Green Left party - ed.) in The Netherlands, and even when one looks at Die Grünen in Germany. Leftist politics has become a vague mixture of social individualization with a little dab of life-style politics on top. The Left no longer has any vision with regard to international relations. In the seventies and eighties, a big concern was supporting the countries in the southern hemisphere in their fight to get an equitable distribution of welfare by means of the "new international economic order", and yet now everyone's behind the "new world order" of Bush and Co., especially given the way things lined up during the Gulf War. And people who are considered pretty well-thinking, such as Anet Bleich and Wolf Biermann, become the 'new experts' of international politics, seemingly overnight.

With the analytical capacity to barely distinguish a mouse from an elephant, they have reduced the entire (history of) the Gulf War to one question: for or against Israel?

But the crisis of the leftist perspective can't just be reduced to mistakes made by the Left. There are also external causes. Seemingly there exists a connection between increasing welfare and the extreme individualism of so many people. Saving the world is 'out', personal concerns are 'in'. Is there hunger in Africa? Well then, let's throw a benefit. Typhoon in Bangladesh? Where's my check-book...

Welfare and individualism lead to life-style politics. You're not a leftist because the world is unjust, rather you're liberal or progressive because you find it all a bit of a drag, poverty and hunger, and the plight of illegal aliens. The things you find depressing are fed to

you through the media and are determined by an issue or an event which is still a little bit worse than the event from the week before.

A world-view which consumes human suffering during a concert for the Kurds (or was it for Bangladesh?)...oh well, no matter, as long as my hair looked cool. Post-modern society is structured through a denial of what is real. The truth can't be found in the political market-place, because it's not a marketable product.

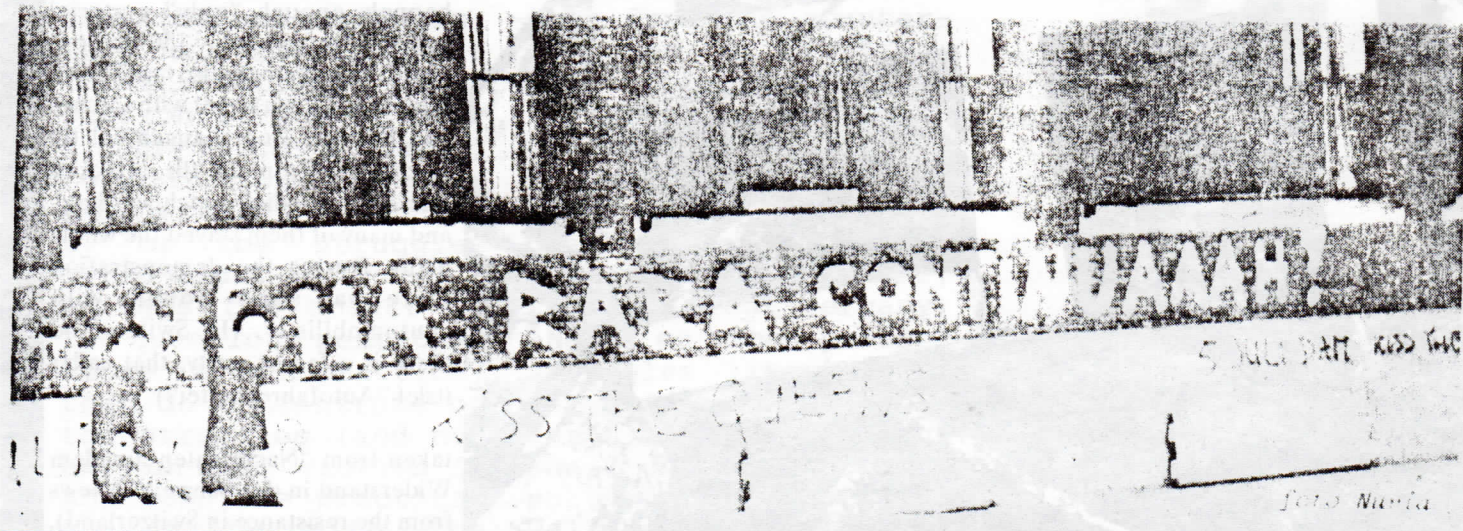
It is this psycho-social structure which makes people so soft. Because of the lightning-fast developments of the past few years, the crisis on the Left has been at the same time social and individual. Everyone knows someone who feels that they have fought, struggled, and sacrificed enough so that they can now end their political lives. And each successive political suicide eats away at your own motivation to keep on going.

The simultaneous occurrence of both the individual and the societal identity crisis within the Left is making it very difficult to catch sight of any possible solutions. Nevertheless we would like to stress that our motivation for going on is not only fed by the fact that we are paralyzed by existential indignation, or more simply put, 'there is more, folks!'

To say something worthwhile about all this, it would be handy for us to take a look around us. Already a few years ago we made a change in our political praxis. Initially, our struggle against racism and oppression was spearheaded by our attacks against apartheid policies. Gradually we began to focus on refugee politics in The Netherlands. From out of our history, this was a logical step.

Firstly, this is so because we think that a space for fundamental changes in the West itself needs to be fought for.

Secondly, because refugee politics is directly related to open, latent, and institutionalized racism. The migration strain in the North is not a result of the so-called parasitic conduct of economic refugees, unlike what many 'people' would have us believe. We reject that notion, because in the first place it is pure propaganda. It's primary purpose is to play on the average Dutchman's fear of having his wallet emptied. Labour migration has taken place for centuries, and it would be





wrong to say that Europe has been opposed to it and has not needed it.

The authorities simply want to dictate which migrants can enter and which can't. Europe for the Europeans.

Refugees don't come here for the fun of it. They are fleeing poverty, war, (sexual) repression, and hunger. And each of these are political concerns which we want to work around. And coincidentally they represent what for us is an important element, namely, internationalism.

So do you all see the possibility or the necessity of militant politics? In other words, is militant resistance still legitimate?

We see legitimacy in militant politics because militant politics is a means of politicizing certain issues which can't be immediately recognized out of humanitarian concerns.

Just like others, we have analyzed the coming European Unity as a junction in developments, a junction which consequently must be confronted. But where we saw and still see little perspective is to direct our praxis "Against the Europe of Capital" [a slogan of the Dutch anti-Europe '92 campaign - ed.]. Not because we are for this, but because we realize all too well that you can't base a political praxis from political analyses alone.

You can't offer resistance to abstractions.

In other words, such a praxis could be counter-productive because then you tend to see resistance where it does not exist. We believe that alongside an analysis of current developments there must also be an analysis of political relationships, and from out of these two things you can choose your targets and formulate your praxis.

But who are you directing yourselves at then? Where do you see people who have an interest in bringing about radical changes? Who do you hope to mobilize with your actions?

We don't have a simple answer to that question. We could just as easily be asking you that question. If you mean, do we see a political movement where our actions have had or could have an effect, a movement which we could mobilize, then our answer at this time would be a cautious "No". But that is closely connected to subject which we have chosen. Unlike with the anti-apartheid struggle, refugees here don't have any powerful political lobby or solidarity movement. And likewise unlike with the anti-apartheid struggle, refugee politics can't be simply reduced to economic or political interest groups. The whole of refugee politics is couched in ideological terms. It vacillates between policy statements from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (which almost always state that nothing is wrong in our country) and bureaucratic officials whose only measure of the current refugee situation is the listing of criteria in their computers. But quite a lot is happening in this area and we think that this can, in principle, grow out into a powerful solidarity movement with political influence. The basis for this is present. The people at present concerned how The Netherlands handles refugees don't, for the most part, come from the 'know' movements, such as the squatters', anti-militarist, and anti-apartheid movements. Often it is people from church parishes, people who possess a genuine sense of concern and indignation. They also don't seem as caught up in the Left's identity crisis.

Our praxis isn't primarily concerned with winning these people over to a revolutionary perspective. Our praxis is an attempt and a struggle to regain some ideological ground. Right now, some very detailed societal measures (such as the implementation of the Schengen Agreement with its consequences for, among others, refugees) are being silently enacted without any discussions of any importance. Through our praxis we hope to bring a halt to the giving up of ideological standpoints.

You all orient yourselves against the State. Do you see the State as 'all-powerful'? Isn't it rather the case that the State, society, and politics are so interwoven that it's impossible to attack the State alone?

Yes, that's the case if you analyze power sociologically. But we're not so concerned with giving an explanation of this phenomenon and how it has come about. We view that power of the State as a political circumstance. We don't see the State as a monolithic power-block, as people did in the seventies. Rather we see it as a centre of spheres of influences of political and economic interest groups which can at times be in conflict with one another. Just look at the conflict between Kosto and the Mulder Commission. Kosto doesn't want any statement of the rights of refugees. That would of course mean compliance with any European ruling and that could lead to a judicial strengthening of the position of refugees. Kosto wants a repressive refugee policy while Mulder has stuck with the more 'polite' orders given to him by Lubbers.

The conflict between the Council of State and the governing parties over the Schengen Agreement is another example.

But we don't orient ourselves against the State because of its 'power'. We orient ourselves against it because it is the most important tool in the hands of the political-economic elite. And certainly where refugees policies are concerned, the state is our biggest opponent.

Because the character of the State has changed, we are presented with some new opportunities. Precisely because of the fact that most people's perception of the State has changed presents the politicians within the State with big problems. One of these problems is that traditional forms of authority (including the State) have been seriously eroded. The State has to continually justify its directives and policies to the population. Truly, the State is in a permanent state of ideological crisis. That is the flip-side of welfare and individualism, authority has to justify and prove itself continually. Consequently, they often find themselves in a bind, and they have to try to claim that certain special-interest matters (such as European Unity) are in fact in the common interest.

That's why, if there is no reason to carry out a repressive refugee policy, then they have to create one. And there lies the vulnerability of the modern State.

Matters such as policy and politics have become susceptible to market mechanisms. And if the State is on the defensive ideologically, then there is more 'space'.

But all of this does not mean that there aren't some

drawbacks to our focusing on the State. Although racism is such a comprehensive issue, we are merely able to take it on in one of its forms. But for the time being, that's how things have to be.

The last question, why haven't you all done anything about the Gulf War?

There is a difficult balance between rage and political rationality. We were hard at work and had gotten to quite an advanced stage. But if you work as we do, then you can't simply react spontaneously. Our manner of operations requires a long period of preparation time, time which the developments of the Gulf War did not give us. And what really settled things was the completely absurd reaction of the Left to this war. From the time the first Scuds landed on Israel, the Left in The Netherlands ceased thinking and became implicit in the ruling powers' Gulfomania and Arabophobia.

That, and the fact that so little resistance to the Gulf War was forthcoming from the Left, decided for us how we would go about things. It is just this sense of political rationality that forces you to examine the possible effect of your limited methods. You don't gain anything with an attack if the attack only inflicts material damage and has no political effect. And after the political demobilization of the Left with respect to the Gulf War, we saw insufficient means of having any political effect. Undoubtedly we would have had an effect if we had carried out our plans, but the question was, wouldn't we instead have effected a negative polarization, given the fact that the whole conflict was reduced to the issue of for or against Israel, and we had no desire to further this debate.



Against A Europe Of The Rich: No Borders For All! For A Self-Determined Life!



# Statement of RARA

(Revolutionary Anti Racist Action, NL)

Exploding lavatories at the ministry of Justice caused by throwing away rights of asylum?!

State secretary Kosto turns against his own barn out of fear for illegal bulbpeelers?!

Tonight, from 12 to 13th of november, mysterious explosions occurred on two places, whose roots are to be found within circles of the ministry of justice and especially at state secretary Kosto. Research will demonstrate that after repeated, timely warnings at police, firebrigade, and at the objects itself, at the ministry of justice in Den Haag and at state secretary Kosto's in Grootschermer several charges were detonated. That this was only meant to cause material damage, the way of placing and choice of timing will show.

With these actions we want to set a limit to the asylum policy-making that turns people down, that excludes and dehumanizes. A policy-making with a signature but without a face, made by loyal civil servants and political responsables.

Identifiable and vulnerable.

## A chronology

### March '91

- The dutch people will have to identify themselves in future time. They will have almost no trouble with that because it will not be about controlling the white dutch inhabitants, but about a sharpened control on illegal people.

The same dutch can breathe peacefully again. It is not a measure which will attack their privacy. The measure is one of many and is only meant to follow the moving-about of a selected group of the population - namely those damned illegals, to register them and to finally get a grip on them.

Some dutch inhabitants will be able to remember the surprise from afterwar (W.W. II, the transl.) historians about the ease with which the nazi's could trace the dutch jews. A

machinery of civil servants and civil servant mentality of politicians that made this possible in those days to deliver the jewish proletariat and the jewish academics noiseless to the Endlösung is now ruling again. It is certainly not about founding a millenium disconcerted of all strange spots. At the contrary, the nowadays barbarism in North-Western Europe dresses itself in the modernistic wear of progress, illumination and prosperity. Not the "gesundes Volksempfinden" is placed in the front on a hysterical way. Here apparently it is about very reasonable, defined problems. The Netherlands are too small to take all refugees under its care, isn't it? The white prosperity is under pressure, isn't it? The small man must be convinced, so the wheat has to be separated from the chaff concerning the refugees. The political establishment nowadays isn't different in rigidity and bluntness than Colijn (*Dutch prime-minister during the late 30's, the transl.*) and his companions, it only leaves the question open what their motives are.

Who or what do they represent really?

### May '91

- State secretary Kosto and companions put down an advise from the State council regarding the Schengen treaty. The parliament can decide about the final - to be signed - version of the treaty.

With this, every democratic legitimacy around this monster treaty has disappeared. The critics of several social organisations on the paragraphs about refugee-rights and asylum-policy is also neutralized by that.

- The parliament puts down the proposals of the Mulder commission. The phenomenon that the parliament rejects valued advices is becoming standard policy. This parliament has a completely own track. Social organisations that try to get a foot between the door, see the door being pushed shut by the entire parliament, with Kosto and Kok (*leader of the social-democratic party, the transl.*) leading the way.

### June '91

- By the inspired lead of socialists France decides to throw all illegals out at once by air-cargo loads.

- The Amsterdam commissioner of police Nordholt sees the climate as ripe enough to put the dimes out of the bag by putting one extra in (??, the transl.). Amsterdam has to fear Brussels and Antwerp's racial riots if nothing is



done quickly "against the illegals". And hasn't it been predicted already years ago that Amsterdam can turn out to be a new Brixton because the Amsterdam police acquired for themselves a reputation to be one of the corps where mostly foreigners walked into a police bullet?

- The dutch co-believer in the beauty of the rose and the upheld fist, Kok, lashes out at all those parasiting illegals.

### July '91

- Switzerland is celebrating its five-hundred years old existence amongst others with an attack on a refugee centre. Attacks like these are a continuous practice here. It seems that there is more going on in this people than the aiming for cuckoo-clocks running perfectly on time, the whitewashing of black money and industriousness under the cover of neutrality.

- A member of the United German government let himself speak, not at all by coincidence, about the German people wanting to bring the army into action against the growing stream of refugees. "The people call for troops."

Words like these were not heard within circles of parliament in Germany for quite some time now.....

### August '91

- The United German government wants a change of the constitution to set and end to the universal right on asylum of refugees on German soil. The fact that this article in the constitution was forced on the Germans by the allies, to, in any case, remember the past, is swept under the doormat. Then the European establishment wipes its feet on it by stepping into the Schengen arrangement.

- In Italy the army is actually put into action against refugees: Albanian refugees are crowded together as wild animals in a stadium and being imprisoned. When they resist against this untenable situation a battle with the army follows. Because this is putting a blemish on a 'civilised country' like Italy, they are then, with a tip, put on the airplane home.

- The results of a survey are published: half of all dutch people would be of the opinion that foreigners should return to their country of origin. The policy starts to bear fruit, just like in the world of advertizing also here counts that what you hear often enough, you start to believe...





At the end of August, beginning of September there were the debates about refugee policy. Justice and W.V.C. (*the ministry of welfare, health and culture, the trans.*) had set a high stake. Rights of refugees should be turned in to make possible a faster expellation; the military police had to move the outside borders from the Schengen-territory from Schiphol Airport to the refugee-lands with-enlarged-risk. This is euphemistically called "Pre-flight-control".

Refugees are to be separated into those who have a chance and those who haven't and to be held separately.

Not everything made it. There will come no separated reception centres for those who have and those who haven't got a chance. But in broad lines the policy stays intact. Foreign affairs will keep taking care of making the civil-servants-reporting relating to the refugee-producing countries, by which Justice will stay ensured of a flood of information to justify the refugee policy with. All in all it became a big non-debate. Many words, little wool and no bit of a fundamental debate about cause and effect. Out of lack of a political vision the dutch politicians throw themselves on developing a technical instrumentary to beat social problems.

Thus also the dutch Fukuyama, Bolkestein. (*leader of the liberal party, the transl.*) In an attempt to play the visionary Bolk tried to define the refugee policy and the policy about ethnic minorities in future time. With in his head the demographic reality that in the year 2010 about 34 percent of the population will exist of migrants he states that the white values are universal and can at any time be laid on migrants.

He embodies the western fear to have a society with such a big minority. This big minority will want to have political rights; will put forward economical demands but most of all will want to create its own game-rules concerning democracy. In other words, they will put their mark on this society which necessarily will be different from the liberal relief that Bolk supposes to see within the Northern societies. But with his plead for universality of the western white values and his adjust-or-piss off mentality he above all tries to make a discussion scheme in which the "refugee-question" has to be seen in future time.

It's a clever move. It tries to pull the sting out of the debate about refugees, by putting up an apparently logical statement concerning the number of migrants the dutch society can

handle and how they have to behave themselves. Establishing quotas for the desired amount of foreigners in combination with submission to the white laws and morale, that is the strategic concept of Bolkestein. A concept which will be followed with devotion by Dales from Inner Affairs who immediately wanted to organize a "Broad Social Discussion" under the motto: "about you, without you".

## October '91

- In France Giscard d'Estaing tries to overtake Le Pen on the right side, in which he succeeds. By introducing the "bloodright" instead of the so-called "constitution" France would be able to exclude all migrants and refugees definitively from all rights.

- In Germany pogroms are taking place on the residences of refugees, next to attacks on their homes. All this mostly with passive support from the population, but sometimes also actively. The continuous political problem-making about refugees coming in and of already present minorities, by individual politicians and political parties, leads to dramatical results.

The politicians let go of the moral brake; that small coating of varnish that is called civilisation is being grazed off, by continuously and ever more forcing to bring the foreigners into sight, with all existing social problems. Need for houses; higher taxes; the explosively grown unemployment caused by the unification; all this was caused by the arrival of so many 'aus- und übersiedler' next to the 'normal' refugees from the three continents. It seems the ideal way of drawing the attention away from the election promises of the CDU (*German right-wing christian democrats, the transl.*). Promises which didn't make the promised paradise on earth out of the unification, but resulted in a harsh reconstruction of the former East-Germany, led by the Treuhänder (*specially founded organisation to privatise all east-german corporations, the transl.*).

The same politicians responsible for the pogroms are now putting the blame for the wave of hate against foreigners at the undigested stalinistic past of the East-Germans. The fact that the most attacks are now made in Western Germany is ignored by them. It can not all be led back to the stalinistic past: it is their brown past that neither west- nor east-Germans have worked on. The stalinism in the G.D.R. was based on the same soil as the fascism.

Again the same politicians minimise the brown spot on their blazon. It would in fact be nothing more than an expression of frustration of some brats from 16 to 17 years old, which got out of hand. A good spanking for once should be enough really. It's a pity that there are not enough parents who see the necessity to do so, but they will probably be too busy with surviving in the paradise-jungle, or they simply do not disagree.

The politicians who like to present Germany as a true (proven) democracy are the same who use, with great convenience, the racism and hate against foreigners as an instrument. The following quote from the Süddeutsche Zeitung:...

"(...)Meanwhile there are attacks on foreigners almost every day. Nevertheless German politicians are still endlessly and with great surety talking about "refugees practicing fraud". Instead of keeping the discussion controlled, this way the discussion is being forced up and infected (...)" (Volkskrant 12 oct 91)

...certainly does not only count for the German politicians. If you compare recent speeches by Wim Kok (NL), Aad Kosto (NL), Louis Toback (Belgium) or Giscard d'Estaing (F), the only difference is the language in which they are held, the content is the same.

## The makeability

On the 13th of November for the hundredth time a meeting on the level of european ministers of Justice will take place. The goal is further filling in of harmonising the refugee policy.

Already for some time now several opinion-making media pose the question what really is going on with this government, in this case Kosto, concerning its private crusade against foreigners and for a white and controllable Western Europe. It has been suggested already from different sides that the political establishment is going crazy. Not that you see them hunting the inner cities with foam on their mouths, but you can see it in the eyes. That paranoia, that glance with which they look into the camera as if they want to say: "you don't know what is going on, you don't understand it, but THEY'RE COMING !!!!!".

But their grip on reality hasn't reached that stadium of paranoia, that they dare to speak this out loud. We are only being touched partly by their hysteria and by manipulating the

informations and real numbers they try to convince the population of their paranoid view of the world.

And as real politicians they make an art out of their handicap, and try to rob away the reality from the population. It almost takes our breath away. We are here witness of a totally new interpretation of a social-democratic credo; this lot of lunatics takes the "makeability of society" literally. Only it is not about the protection of the weak or the creating of opportunities for the people at the bottom anymore: all being pushed behind the panels by the new spirit.

Not that all this is so terribly new, only it is so abrupt and absolute and most of all it calls up shame. What is this for a society, in which the right to exist is taken away from people without mercy? In which people that have been working themselves to death, then have been thrown into the big WAO (*welfare scheme for people who are (made) ill, the transl.*) reservoir to in the end land on the lowest step of the ladder?

The comparancy between the attack on (illegal) foreigners and WAO-receivers is that both groups are easy to kick at. The first to aim the feelings of discomfort at; the other to bring a financial sacrifice in favour of the so badgered middle and higher incomes. What didn't they already give in!! And who is here in fact taking care of economical growth and productivity? Not the illegals, they're just good enough to turn out cheap work -without rights-; they are a factor to keep the costs of producing low, but can certainly not derive any rights from it. Their work you won't find back in the official statistics.

So that is the way to solve administrative and political crises, so that show the Netherlands look like in a United Europe.

## The new world order on the Binnenhof (government seat, the transl.)

The historians of the future will scratch their heads to find out what has been the context in which the xenophobia of politics has matured. In the sub-lunary here and now there are enough who scratch their heads about the how and why of the rabiate anti-refugee behaviour of politicians; a search for the political ratio of it. But the whole idea of a political ratio almost supposes that there is also a logic base to it. A logic which can reasonably, i.e. with arguments, be resisted. A supposition which should also give hope on influencing the decision-making like it is enacted in the palace at the Binnenhof. It would be nice. But the hysterical character of the refugee-policy of the Tweede Kamer (*House of Commons, the transl.*) and the government withdraws itself from the rules of the debate-democracy. The policy-makers don't put their "product" in the discussion. They mystify the "product" refugee-policy: the foreigner is a strange entity that is outside of reality. It is not the foreigner everybody knows and of whom everybody says that he/she is alright. No, it is the foreigner who still has to come, the not yet materialised threat from outside. The foreigner who comes to steal our food; who will undermine our prosperity; the rustler, the barterer, forthcoming criminal, in short a modernized version of the archetype of the eternal jew.

It speaks for itself that any open association with this idea should be prevented; just like it speaks for itself that this threat has to be visualized as being real.





### It's paytime

That will go as follows: Kosto hears from Van den Broek (Foreign Minister) that on a European level it's decided to harmonise the refugee-policy. But how can that be sold? In the council of ministers suggestive remarks are made, they're mumbling something about the uncontrollability of the 'problem', are reading some reports of superintendents of police; check out the country-reports of the ministry of Foreign Affairs and say: there is no reason at all to seek refuge!

The tone is set; the project starts to come off the ground. Kosto appears at the office and calls for Nawijn (director of refugee-affairs). It's getting awkward. Both gentlemen realise they have to develop a policy that is not going to be swallowed all that easily. Kosto orders his staff, populated with loyal -serving any color-civil servants, to develop a policy provided with the necessary figures and back-ups. Animated the civil servants get on their job, to improvise and to selectively present is already for years the state of the art of policy-making.

Until one of them looks up perplexed; goes over all figures and researches again and has to come to the conclusion that it's all bullshit. Miss Aalberts of the ministerial scientific research- and documentation centre has just shortened her career substantially. She has violated a basic rule of officialdom: Thou shall not raise doubts about the judgement of the policy-maker and thou shall certainly not put this out in the open.

But with this a mechanism has been described and still the political ratio of it hasn't been dug out. If the xenophobia -uplifted to a political style - would only be a dutch circumstance, then you could raise the question whether they are eating healthy enough in the house of parliament, most of all because there is a frequent use of obvious and stupid reasoning.

Only one logic can be discovered in this and that's the one of the European Unification in relation to the general crisis in politics (both in the ideological and administrative meaning).

Seen in this way, a framework becomes visible in which many strange happenings fall into place.

Like the hard-headed facing of the storms of social protest concerning the plans with the WAO social scheme. It also doesn't concern the caste of modern politicians whether the corporatism -so carefully built up in the fifties- must be revised. The politicians have taken a collision course towards the trade unions and other organisations for the simple reason that there exists a concept of the modern state in a Unified Europe. And within this same framework it becomes clear why the European politicians dare to play with fire in their mobilisation of extreme-right sentiments. Apparently it is to be preferred that foreigners are being attacked (by groups just above the foreigners in the hierarchy) to that riots may start because the neo-paupers claim their share of the wealth.

The mother of all battles has given birth to a monster of which the kind and dimensions are hard to determine. It is called the New World Order and one third of the world looks forward to it with joyful expectations; the rest in fear and tremors. The monster surrounds itself with a semblance of justice. A justice for the world. No country in the world shall want that what is not its own. Dictatorial expansion will be punished. All of a sudden, human rights are indeed an issue when considering military action. The United Nations have been expanded by a self-appointed, dangerous and autonomously operating police force.

Nobody should have any illusions about the role that the United States want to play in this new world order. The concept is as follows: wealthy countries that are threatened pay for the military operation, with Japan in the background as permanent financier. Europe, in it's role of the old continent, handles the diplomatic side of the case; the U.S. intervene according to their strategic interests. The new world order, namely, is an extension of the current international political-economical relations.

And exactly therein lays the fear for two-thirds of the world. Military intervention by the North in the South is not the start of a process, but the conclusion of it. Military intervention by the North is the continuation of economic policy with different means. The start of the war of the North against the South is in the economic policy used.

And there we arrive again at the crossroads of the reasoning: it is the international politics that set the margins and rules for national policy.

As long as nothing is changed about the necessity to flee, refugees will keep coming. Especially as the difference in wealth between North and South increases. The persistent negative economic growth of the southern countries of the past years is one of the main causes of the coming of migrants and refugees. They really don't give a shit whether she or he falls into this definition of refugee or not. That this is also seen on the higher levels is made clear by several test-balloons of the last time. These come from an unexpected (but suspicious) side. Within OECD circles there is more and more thought about stopping migration. They want to close some kind of contract with the countries in the South. The great example for this think-tank are the United States. The treaty that the U.S. wants to make with the South-American countries contains some 'rules of play' about the refugees. The U.S. binds itself to invest a certain part of their national income in South-America on the condition that these countries make sure this money is used to dry up the well of refugees. It can be foreseen and expected that the corrupt and half feudal militaristic regimes won't suddenly start thinking 'enlightened' to solve the 'social issue'. The money will be spent on more border-patrols, control (and thus repression) of refugees.

### Along the way

The problem:

State secretary Kosto: "Our borders have to be opened to increase even further our well-being. Don't think you can close them for people who want to share in the profits."

The solution:

State secretary Kosto: "Wherever I can I will decrease the flow of migrants, repel illegals and act against mis-use of regulations and measures." (Elsevier, 12 oct 91)

The whole of the refugee-problemmaking seems only possible to capture in ideological terms. It moves in the space between the policy agreements within the ONE Europe, the notes from the Foreign Ministry and the final rejection and eviction.

A policy with a signature but without a face. Cadred in on international conferences, filled in and executed by always loyal, local civil servants. Such as the Zeevalking report. This commission (March '90) had as it's task: "To give advice on the going against the use of collective provisions by illegal staying in the Netherlands and on how to activate surveillance of foreigners inside the country." The investigation resulted in propositions for an active policy of discouragement concerning all terrains and methods by wich illegals "manage a hold". Amongst this should be the exclusion from "practically all" collective provisions. "Practically all", because "it can not be prevented that illegal foreigners use the public streets" (page 19)

Refugees are degraded to a non-existence. After the sad experience of having to leave back home, hearth and family, the systematic experience of humiliation follows. It doesn't matter what your story is, pre programmed civil servants vomit a rejection into your face. And even if you get any further you collide into the wall of hostility and distrust. All your experiences, your whole culture is nullified. Any attempt to make a positive contribution to a multi-cultural society is smothered.

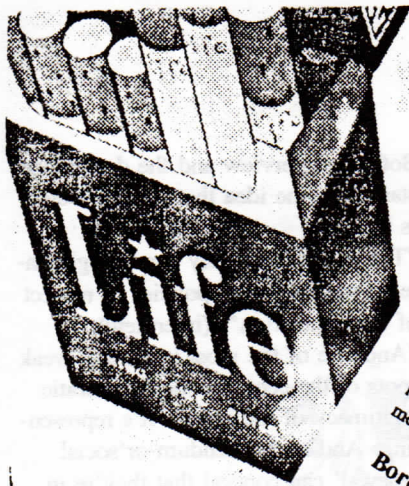
It is this policy, that writes people off, excludes them and dehumanizes them that we want to point out and stigmatise. That is why we paid a visit to the workplace where industrious Justice civil servants are daily smoothing and sharpening the building blocks of the policy and by one of the directly politically responsables.

This last one we wanted to - if only for a moment - let share in the experience of humiliation. For that we visited him at home, mistreated his belongings and treaded upon his privacy. He has been sort of evicted, if only for one night.

By exposing them we want to cooperate to (the struggle for) an alternative and to bring the discussions beyond the well-known positions.

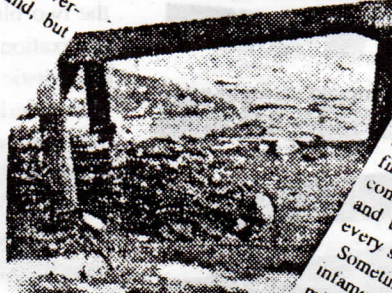
No, of course the Netherlands cannot accomodate all refugees in the world. There are too much of them and the Netherlands are too small and so on. But any refugee organisation that starts itself to separate "the wheat from the chaff" in the hope that in that way "only real refugees" will come, are moving into the





## Borders

The political situation at the moment screams for a clear answer. The growing hatred of foreigners in western Europe is put into the shoes of migrants and refugees: there are too much of them and they don't want to integrate. The official policy-makers sow, on soil ever more fertile, the hatred of foreigners and harvest in this way a passive approval of their general politics. The so-called victory of the right is inversely proportional to the weakness of the left and the sentiments of the middle use the right-wing to realise that what otherwise would invoke too much resistance. We are very aware of the weakness of the left at this moment. Aware of the lack of a common political project and following strategy. And although especially the left in the West experiences a dramatic fallback, the comrades (female and male) in the rest of the world also have to deal with changes in the power-balances. Old answers are no longer valid, but the questions remain the same.



Step by step the forces of the middle will have to be forced back, and to us this step is one. We want, with everybody that is involved, try to stop these politics, by asking questions that are not asked and by drawing limits. We also don't have 'the' answer, but we do know that we will not accept a society in which a large part of the people is written off and without rights. While the overwhelming majority falls back into silent complicity. The only solution lies in fighting for another future. That must and can be done in many ways. With these actions, which we see as necessary counter-violence, we wanted to make a contribution to that in the direction of fundamental changes.

Revolutionary  
Anti  
Racist  
Action



## REACTION TO RARA

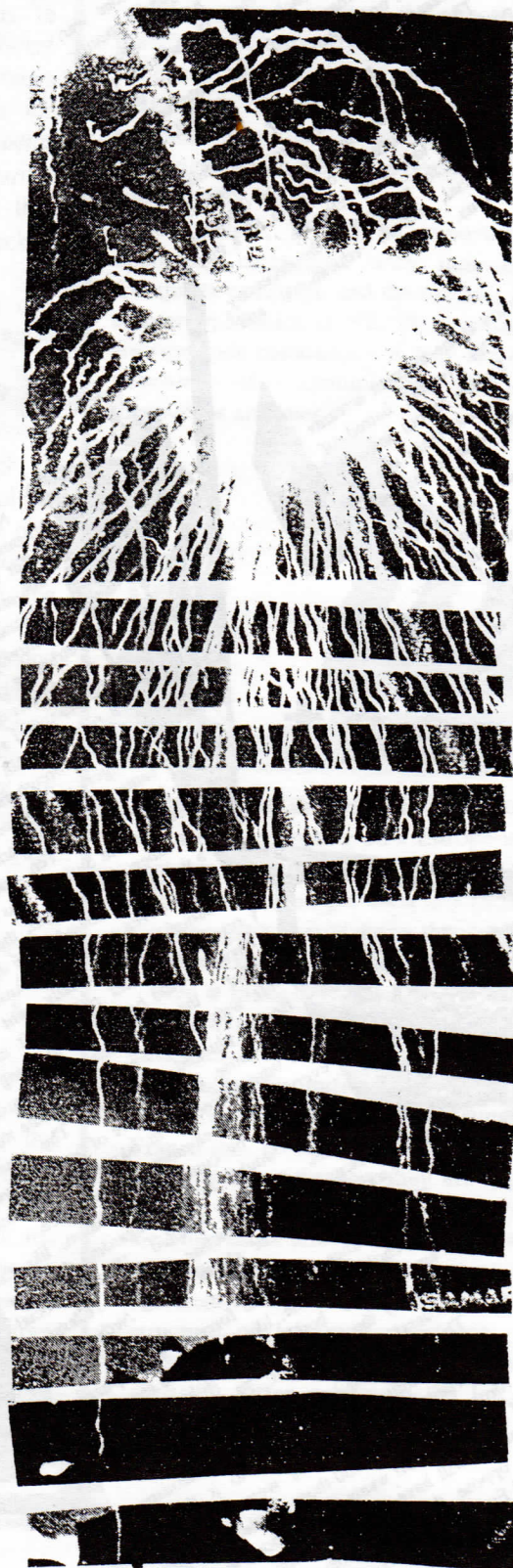
By means of this article we want to discuss the ideas and actions of RaRa in connection with the development of a revolutionary line in the Netherlands and Europe.

A discussion we think is highly necessary for the revolutionary left in the Netherlands. On the one hand we are confronted with unambiguous rejections by a wide spectrum that runs from Docters van Leeuwen (head of the Dutch secret service ; transl.), via the N.N. (a scene magazine ; transl) to a number of established refugee organizations. On the other hand the ideas which RaRa puts forth (in the interview in the 'Konfrontatie' (magazine; transl.) and in the declaration referring to the bomb outrages) are hardly critically processed or further developed. In this way the actions keep 'floating'. Some think they're good, others think they're bad, but nothing happens to it, except for the BVD and the CRI (dutch secret services; transl.) who are continuing (and settling) their quarrels. And ones more it's shown that the reigning opinion is the opinion of the ruling class. "This isn't possible"

We think this is possible!!

In this article we don't want to discuss wether the attacks are necessary or not, we want to discuss the political motivation behind these actions. We think for now it's important to work out a political line on the base of which the structural racism of the other side (the ones who have the benefit from and control the oppression-machinery) and via this spearhead the total oppression of the other side, can be stopped. We consider the contributions of RaRa in this context and formulate our criticism from this point of view.

"We don't have the answer either"; RaRa states. Neither do we, but for now that's not (yet) possible. 'The' answer is developed in fighting the fight collectively, 'the' answer even is the collectively fought fight. This should only happen on the base of a just estimation of strength and developments of the other side, as well as on ours. Concerning this we have quite some criticism to the standpoints of RaRa.



Both the interview and the declaration start from the idea that the other side is in crisis.

"The state constantly has to legitimate its measures and policies in respect of the population". (interview)

"And one of the most important weak spots of the centre is the democratic legitimacy of the system it's representing. And no referendum or 'social renewal' can conceal that they're in deep trouble". (declaration)

We don't believe the other side is in crisis. For years the Vietnam syndrome and the naked existence of the 'real existing socialism' was a guarantee for the fact that no large-scale military interventions by the imperialistic powers took place. With the intervention of Granada the first step was made in recovering the military, political and ideological hegemony. At the time of the US invasion of Panama and the kidnapping of it's president almost everyone fell silent except for latin-america. Everyone was focussed on the collapse of the "barbarism", the "real existing socialism" and especially on the coup in Roumania. With the abolishment of the contradictions between the two blocks of power, cq the annexation of the east-block into the capitalistic world order, the path to a New World Order was smoothened. The Gulf-war could be prepared, introduced and realized without any resistance worth mentioning. Many former-Vietnam demonstrators were now cheering this 'clean' war at the sidelines, in which 'lucky enough' only about 150.000 Iraqi's got killed. A stage in which the credibility of the system could have been questioned, namely at the time of the threatened stationing of the cruise-missiles (in the Netherlands; transl.), shows in our opinion that it isn't true that the legitimation of the system is less questioned. Despite of the fact that more than half of the population was against it and even went onto the streets massively (1985; transl.), the decision of stationing cruise-missiles was made. This didn't result in questioning the system, one believed at the most that the government had run like an elephant through the china-cabinet. But this was soon forgotten as well. Were there still high expecta-



tions within the population of having influence on the political decision-making in those days, in the case of the WAO- and health insurance acts (1990; transl.) this hardly showed up anymore.

Although the people were angry, the defensive way in which they undertook actions showed that the very most part of them had already accepted the decision-making of the government on forehand.

In our opinion this estimation of 'crisis' leads to a grave political misapprehension, namely the assumption that militant policies could influence the political agenda at this moment. We can only understand the disappointment of RaRa about the non-debate from this point of view (have a look at the declaration).

"Many words, but little wool, and there has been no fundamental debate at all on causes and consequences". Does RaRa really expect a discussion in the parliament on the points of view of the revolutionary left?

Participating in determining the political agenda is only possible by means of a structured counter-power, on a clear political line and strategy. Another thing that attracts our attention is the fact that RaRa no longer mentions the importance of building up a counter-power. This has vanished, both in the interview and in the declaration.

We regard the estimation of the differences and contradictions within the other side (which surely exist) as far to optimistic. In important matters like the one of the asylum-seekers, which is moreover dominated by the demands of the European fortress, the ranks are closing. A debate, no debate at all! And then it's proved once more that the other side does have a political vision, namely that of Bolkenstein (chairman of the VVD, a liberal party; transl.) who's ideas actually were propagated before by Ien Dales (social-democratic party; transl.) and about 10 years earlier by Couwenberg and lets especially not forget the S.P.\* ('socialist party'; transl.); quotation and total adjustment. Some ('real') refugees are allowed in, to secure the humanitarian image, but they have to accept the white west-european values (which

are presented by Bolkenstein as universal and everlasting). To us this means that RaRa's proposition of the other side lacking a political vision, isn't right, and we regard it as an underestimation of the opponent.

We don't turn against tactical choices, but we also think that, especially in times when the revolutionary left obviously has the odds against itself, fundamental choices and strategical principles should be emphasized over and over. Only within this framework tactics can get their place and meaning.

At this point we also want to make some remarks on the demands of RaRa, on the way to a fundamental change in the international economical order. "The refugee-policy should be out of the hands of the police, constabulary and justice". Of course we do agree with this, but we ask ourselves: in whose hands does it has to be? In the hands of organizations like the VVN (refugee work holland union, transl.) and humanitas? These clubs are both totally encapsulated and work objectively as extensions- and executors of the structural racism of the Dutch state\*\*. In France, where the execution of the alien policy is no longer in the hands of the police, constabulary and justice but in the hands of organizations like the VVN and humanitas, the racist practice didn't change at all. One of the bases of this racism, namely making the distinction between economical (= "profitering")

and political ("real") refugees is fully subscribed to by both the organizations. We think that the demand for the abolishment of this distinction is necessary for anti-racist groups. Furthermore we think, for tactical reasons its right, to make demands which can't be granted within the framework of the existing order. They should be offensive enough to break open the discussion about the fundaments and reasons of racism and euro-centrism, like the demand for open borders for everyone, and in connection to this equal rights. Besides the question of the counter-power we think RaRa doesn't focus enough on the North-South relationship.

By the exploitation and destruction of

the conditions of life of the people in the Tricont, the North is creating a permanent 'flood' of refugees who come from the South and who are stopped here at the borders. Until the midst of the seventies, imperialism crimped many people, who were called 'temporary working migrants' from that part of the worldsystem, which is kept underdeveloped, to safeguard the profits of the companies. Many restrictions were connected to this kind of migration like the alien workers act, the residency-right of women got linked to the work- and residency-right of men, and a very restricted policy of family reunion was conducted. The alien workers act (WABW) provided in a stringent control and severe exploitation of foreign workers. Limitation-measures were set for each company and the workers-license was given to the boss instead of to the worker concerned. The procedure followed in case of a request was firstly to look for an available dutch person, then an E.G.-subject, after this a foreigner with a residence-permit, etc.

After half a year of unemployment the expel followed. These same temporary workers were called economical refugees from the moment they weren't 'necessary' anymore. This f.e. shows the structural racism of the North.

If this isn't worked out clearly there is a big chance anti-racism comes to a dead-end street, by just denouncing the refugee policy of the state at this moment, instead of also dealing with its fundaments.

The last years a considerable part of the refugees in Holland is coming from the countries of the former 'real existing socialism'. The West caused this 'flood' of refugees by exposing economical and military pressure -and this too was only possible 'thanks to' 500 years of colonialism and imperialism at the cost of the peoples in the Tricont- on a system which absolutely wasn't supported at all by its population and thereby had to collapse at a certain moment. It may be clear that the West is just covetting on the opening of the markets and the safeguarding of the control on nuclear weapons, and hereby the interests of the local popu-



lations are of no importance. This new stage and variant of modern imperialism does not have a similar form as the North-South racism that has been developed and structured over the last 500 years, when looking at the differences in historical developments on the base of different ways of production (a central led economy, not on the base of private ownership).

In the interview the point of the exploitation of the South by the North is hardly mentioned by RaRa. And in the declaration RaRa states: "The sustaining negative economical growth of the Southern countries is one of the most important reasons for the arrival of immigrants or refugees". Speaking about Euro-centrism! We ascertain that next to the underestimation of the other side, there also is talk of, let's call it 'selfundermining' of RaRa. They don't speak anymore about the North-South conditions as a central line in 500 years of colonial and imperialist oppression, nor about trying to win people for revolutionary changes, or about building a structured resistance. It's no longer about achieving an ideological hegemony (but about gaining ideological room), or about gaining fundamental changes but about creating space for fundamental changes. It also attracts attention that Groen Links (the greens in the parliament: transl.) is criticized in the interview and that the social democracy is put into the pillory as well, although it's not clear to whom RaRa is directing. Does this have to do with the 'crisis of the left', with 'not knowing the answer'? Is this why fundamental points of view can not, or at least not too obvious, be exposed any longer? To us this means that not enough emphasis is laid on fundamental starting-points, with being fixed upon the 'political agenda', the 'midst', etc.

Besides this we also want to say that RaRa's estimation of potential actions during the gulf-war (interview) is not ours. When these actions would have led to the question 'in favour or against' Israel? it has come to a break-point in the discussion that has to be brought forward. And when this was not possible during the gulf-war, well, when would it than be?

And again the tactics are sacrificed with the loss of the strategic notion that revolutionary standpoints have to be brought in the light even, and especially then when they relate to an existing discussion, in a way the discussion can be brought further. For now we leave it like this. For the sake of clearness; we don't turn against the bomb outrages. Attacks are definitely necessary as acts against the humiliating politics, if they show that oppression is not an untouchable bastion but has a name and an address, that it is possible to attack these politics, that resistance is possible. The fact that there is in our opinion too little attention for why especially Kosto has been attacked and why now, doesn't change this. The same goes for the fact that because of unpreciseness in the declaration, in comparison to what actually happened, openings were made which make it possible to present the RaRa as a life threatening and irresponsible group.



And despite of our criticism we appreciate it that RaRa, both in deeds and in political line has stuck out its neck.

This is self-criticism as well. But one which we take at heart. We regard this article as a partial assimilation of this criticism.

a few anti-racists

\* The Dutch professor Couwenberg raised a good deal of dust with statements on rights and obligations of foreigners. He (re)introduced the conception of 'national culture' and focused on total adjustment of foreigners for living together of foreigners with (white) Dutch people. His 'scientific' statements were discussed for months at the opinion-page of the volkskrant; most people reacting concluded that Couwenbergs stands were avowed racistic.

The Socialist Party in '83 produced a brochure on 'alien workers and kapital', which was presented as an inquiry and had as the most important conclusion: 'adjust or get lost'; foreign workers had to adjust totally to the 'Dutch' culture because otherwise they would hinder the class-struggle and the Dutch proletariat. The ones who didn't want so, because they don't like sprouts, had to be sent out with a 'get lost' premium of 750000 guilders.

\*\*By which we absolutely don't want to minimize the good intentions of the employees or their looking after the interests of individuals. Our criticism is aiming at the political line and structure.

\*\*\*The WABW ('77) resulted in a stronger control and a sharper exploitation of foreign workers. Every company was given a limit; the labourpermits were given to the bosses instead of the workers.



Answer from the prisoners-collective WOTTA SITTA (Italy)  
to the letter from Wiesbaden

(We printed the letter from Wiesbaden in our last issue)

08/10/91 Latina

Dear comrades,

last week I sent an express registered letter with an intervention of our comrades in Novara prison. We hope it is arrived and in some way it has been useful for the "aktionswoche on the 500 years". In the same letter I promised to answer your letter soon and now we'll try to do it.

We don't know if Clash No. 4 is already issued (anyway here we haven't it yet) and so we don't know the last wording of your letter. But anyway, the one you sent here is a good basis in order to begin the discussion.

The first thing to say is that you have well explained your experience and the political problems it pointed out. We think it is a general problem for the revolutionary movement everywhere (there in FRG as well as in Italy), to succeed in conceiving steps forward that enable to come out of the "schools" of "particularism" and "immediatism". Here for example, a big problem we've seen (and also for this we decided in writing that open letter) is the lack of a "global view" (a view as a whole) that enable to overcome ideas and praxis in some way inadequate to the present problems. In the sense that all the experience are important, but by alone and without a "long-winded perspective", finally they risk to become unproductive and asphyxiated (lembos). This because we all know very well how much hard the whole situation is, and how much this hangs over the praxis and the comprehension about "what to do" nowadays.

This is quite near what you say, that the war "has make clear once again, that we have to include the global development more and more firmly within our political questions".

the experience of the mobilizations against the war in the gulf teaches many things. everywhere there were initiatives and consciousness, but these didn't turned into adequate organization advance. Everywhere one understood the meaning of this war and recognized the common enemy,

but this didn't produced a capacity of building up real moments of lasting and incisive strenght. these evaluations cross quite the revolutionary debate in Europe, but not only in it. The problem now doesn't lie on searching for some "blames" but on the capability in understanding the reasons and from this, in continuing to go on.

one of these reasons certainly lies within the nature itself of the imperialism development, its enforcement and the huge ferocity with which it pursues its aims of destruction. But what, paradoxically, the gulf war has made more evident, is the inability (impossibility) for the imperialism to find long-winded comprehensive answers to the deep crisis it is in, and its consequent need to move more and more in a destructive/police/military terms. As more the crisis deepens, as more the struggle becomes fierce. We all have seen the effects at any moment of our life.

for the imperialism as a whole, and every state, is crucial to succeed in guaranteeing a survival space in order to perpetuate its domination. The fierce struggle they are engaging against the peoples of the trikont as well as the proletariat of the metropolis, against all the people who will not yield to their dictat, is inscribed in this frame.

And it is important to bear this reality in mind in everything we do, from the smaller to the most exacting. Because such an apparently big enforcement couldn't be stopped suddenly.

But this is only the first starting-point, i.e. the objectivity of a given historical situation like the present



ROMA — Natalia Ligas e Giovanni Senzani al processo



one. At least it is a part of this objectivity. Then, there is the extreme polarization that is produced by it, the more and more sharp social contradictions, less and less controllable. The frame is more and more explosive and foreboding of positive transformations for the future. But the forces of the reaction are working in order to make it "implode", to set everyone against everyone, to build wall on wall in order to impose the laws of the market and exploitation everywhere. The explosions of fascist and nazi racism

that there are up there in FRG (but not only) are really explanatory: an ideological core to an economical war that is re-drawing the labour market within any country, with devastating consequence. The bourgeoisie is raging chauvinism and the most reactionary "feelings" hoping to slow down the process of emancipation and liberation of the humanity.

We all know that this process is not to be stopped, even if in certain moments it could seem hesitant or slow... too slow. that we are living in, in an epoch of big upsets, and the things are all more intricate and hard. But together, united, we'll overcome - But only together, only if we'll be able to unify all our forces, everyone by what he/she can, beginning from the situation he/she acts in. It, bearing in mind the different problems, the different situations produce, we'll succeed in locate the real nature of them (the problems) and we'll work to reach common aims. **Zusammen kämpfen.**

This another strong acquisition by 20 years of revolutionary confrontation, here in the imperialist metropolis. These 20 years are an huge experience and a big patrimony for everyone. To begin in the struggles nowadays without this comprehensive strenght produces a political limitation very dangerous. Someone said: "there is no future without memory of the past". And it is really true. Learning from mistakes (but also from the right things!) is a fundamental basis for all the comrades. In this sense we see, for example, the question you set as for the experience about the gulf war. When you say that many elements of comprehension (understanding) already existed within analysis during the past decade. It is true. And the deeply changed situation is not to understand without see all that, in a decade and more has "prepared" it. Both as for the imperialism, with its all-range offensive, during the 80th, against all the revolutionary and liberation expressions in the trikont and in the imperialist metropolis, the encirclement and efforts in order to roll-back them,

everywhere, the military attacks with the "low intensity conflicts", the economical restructuration, fierce everywhere... And as for the revolutionary side, in a wider sense with the new questions that need answers and the capability (or inability) of face and find them, and build real strenght.

this doesn't mean to live and act with a past-oriented sight, on the contrary! It means to build up the capability of live and act within the long-winded perspective marked out by the revolutionary process and its vanguards, that within this frame took root and developed, 10 years of rooting and development of the revolutionary front, with all this produced and meant. And within this perspective, to find one own "roots" of the choises for the present, and face the problems that are under the sight of everyone.

The new situation at the global level, outlines new problems and confirms other already actual. Everyone is called for make his/her part. The fighting forces, the resistance, the prisoners.

We, as italian prisoners from the guerilla have been working from years in order to enforce the discussion about the main cruxes the confrontation sets, to build unity and strenght. Thus, not only in order to merely exchange opinions and points of view, but to seek moments of connections with other situations acting within the revolutionary confrontation. Because to be a part of it goes beyond the more solidarity (reforced to who is "involved" with the prisoners) and it is a reality to nourish daily, within the things we do inside. Resistance, contributions, struggle, support to the guerilla forces... our political identity is "made" by all this, and with this express itself.

Well, dear comrades, for this first time, it is enough. The issues just touched are so much, but need to go on, in order to better understand each other. We'll do it step by step.

Maybe you know that on 17/10/91 in Rome, it'll begin the "Moroteo"-appeal. From Latina we'll go on trial two comrades of ours. We think it'll continue for 4 or 5 month (but we don't know exactly).

Don't forget to let us know about the actiondays (if you issued some relations or other, please send them to us).

A last curiosity. You say that someone of you doesn't "understand" our "ausdrucksweise". It is referred to our "political language? If yes, in what sense?

We are sending our revolutionary greetings and a strong embrace for all of you.

Liebe und Haft

Rosa





INTERNATIONAL OCCUPATION ACTION OF  
THE EC-OFFICES IN BRUSSEL, ON MAY  
11, 1989.  
Against a united Europe from the Kapital.

In the last years, the struggle of political prisoners in the whole western Europe has again been driven into extremes. A continuing series of hungerstrikes goes on, time after time with the blunt reactionary character of those who are politically responsible. A character that can be described through the motto: Give up your ideas, or die.

Not only the motto resembles, it concerns the assimilation of tactic and strategy, in the confrontation with political prisoners up until the smallest detail. More and more often, for example, are prisoners being abused as hostages to force the militant organizations, from which they come, to stop their armed struggle. A short historical review:

The struggle against the destructive use of isolation custody

and for the association of prisoners, for free communication inside jail, is already 20 years old in the FRG. Some prisoners (Holger Meins '74, Sigurd Debus '81) have died on the consequences of this struggle with out being able to push through concrete changes.

Decisive however, was the fact that after 17 years of isolation torture the situation inside had become unbearable and changes were due. A part from a respectable number of support actions, the support outside was mainly characterized by attempts to break the code of silence in the media through many publicity actions and the spreading of information.

In the hope of building-up a wide coalition in society, which would be able to push through the association of prisoners. Also demonstrations with 10,000 people did actually take place. As the situation became more and more extreme, it became obvious that the German state didn't want to move an inch and kept itself to its repressive attitude despite on-going social pressure.

Amongst many militant groups arose the feeling of not recognizing the characteristics of their struggle in this campaign, they felt lost in a publicity battle. Against this background emerged the idea of an international action that



Support of this struggle outside those walls was variable in its intensity and character, and has been thoroughly criminalized and prosecuted in the recent years.

Roughly said, the support of the hungerstrikes in '84 and '85 consisted then especially out of militant actions, by parts of the autonomous and more strongly by the anti-imperialists resistance from the European countries, without being able to eventually achieve anything substantial.

As an answer on the criminalization campaign against the support of the demand of free association of prisoners, which was especially intensified, people tried to gain wider support in the process of '87 and '88, in an attempt which was mainly initiated by the coalition that defended the Hafenstraße against a threatening eviction. By trying to make more organizations speak out on this subject (like churches, neighborhood organizations, etc.) the situation in prisons again be brought into the open unpunishable, the development should be stopped in which merely militant groups dared to support the prisoners. Partially based on this social development the prisoners decided on December 1, '88, to reopen the struggle and go on hungerstrike again.

should directly hit those responsible for the stubborn attitude of the state. Groups from the resistance in west-Europe, which had met during international campaigns as in the Hafenstraße, against the IMF-summit ('88 Berlin), the anti-apartheid struggle and the international womens week in Amsterdam, started the preparation.

It was decided not to make another humanitarian appeal to the German state through, for instance, an occupation of the European court or parliament

, but to attack an economical institution because of the desire of west-European internationals to make profit, is the motto behind the project of Europe '92. To be able to create a giant internal market, the repression in the whole of Europe is being coordinated which includes the policy against the prisoners.

It's rather the various divisional headquarters of the EC-commission that constitutes the place while decisions from the heart of this "technocratic regime" are being prepared and partially elaborated.

On May 11, 1989, at the time when some of the prisoners entered their 100th day on hungerstrike, people accordingly occupied the EC-divisional headquarters for industrial cooperation in Brussels.



This office coordinates and shapes the cooperation between various European companies.

Profiting from the moment of surprise, 53 people from Switzerland, Denmark, the FRG and Holland broke through security and barricaded themselves on the first floor. A support group outside, which had the task to seek publicity for the backgrounds of the action, installed itself in the office of the Green-fraction in the European Parliament, using their channels of communication. Apart from this occupation other groups occupied, on the same day, a liberal newspaper in Copenhagen, the German consulate in Aarhus (DK), and attacked the Deutsche Bank in Bielefeld (FRG) with stones and paint-bombs, to put even more emphasis on the demands in Brussels. The Belgian Rijkswacht (parliamentary police-force) reacted by sealing of the

building, on a large scale, and tried to legitimize a possible violent intervention by spreading the rumour that it would concern an armed action intended to take hostages! Thanks to the support group outside this, this lie could soon be refuted.

There was no response whatsoever to our demands, which included amongst others, the arrival of several European officials, on the contrary under the heading of the security boss of the European Commission their response was only aimed at gaining time to prepare a quick eviction. The many reporters that showed-up were carefully contained behind police lines. After 4 hours occupation the Belgian anti-terror squad Dyane stormed the building and violently arrested all occupants.

53 people were locked-up in a cage for 24 hours, in the Rijkswacht barracks in Brussels. Because of on-going resistance against their brutality, they were forced to divide the group and release and extradite everybody except for a group of 7 people.

As had been agreed before, the 7 that were left joined the hungerstrike of Germany and France, after being transferred to jail.

The action continued, also outside:

Groups attacked the Belgian embassy in Bern (CH), and the Belgian airports office in Zurich (CH), as well as the Belgian consulate in Copenhagen with stones and paint-bombs. Many came back to Brussels to hold a support rally in front of the prison. However, even before they could gather themselves they were attacked and driven apart by the cops, who locked-up 28 people in the same cage for a few hours.

In spite of the fact that the 7 had just been given, that very day, another prison term by a Belgian court. They were released surprisingly on the 19th of May. Conclusions afterwards, explained that this was due to German pressure, because



# DETERMINED TO FIGHT AGAINST ISOLATION

**TERRORIST SYMPATHIZERS SEIZE EC OFFICES** — A masked protester talked to the police Thursday from the window of an annex to the EC headquarters in Brussels. The police broke in and arrested 44 people, ending a four-hour takeover. The protesters demanded political prisoner status for convicted terrorists on a hunger strike in West German and French prisons.

the German state was all too happy that the hungerstrike in Germany had been called off on May 11, '89, and they wanted to prevent any sort of continuity in the mobilization for the political prisoners. The BKA (German FBI) had been clearly present in Brussels, in the week after the occupation action.

So the action came, when looking back, too late to contribute to a concrete solution for the prisoners. Nevertheless it opened up new grounds that had remarkable characteristics. Some substantial positive sides:

- An attempt to organize and internationally carry-out a radical action.
- Despite the international state of alert for cops and secret services, to be able to prevent them from gaining information about what was going to happen. Note, that there were heavy observation operations going on.

- Especially the cooperation between groups with a very different backgrounds and points of view. Problems that often block such gatherings or make them unproductive, were now overcome. For instance, the cooperation between women-groups and mixed groups, or that one between "classical anti-imperialists" and "classical anarchists".

- Secure organization of the organization caused the smooth development of the actions like it was planned, with out too many surprises.

Only until after the actual occupation an essential mistake became clear, and led to big confusion. Because time was urging and because of a lack of contacts to groups in Belgium itself, the occupants were painfully confronted with the fact that they knew nothing about the Belgian judicial system. This led to a lot of insecurity and to different attitudes towards the cops.

The occupation action in Brussels was and remains, however, a part of the attempt to build-up a Europe of resistance against a Europe of cops and pigs. The development of the hungerstrike in Spain 1990 by GRAPO and PCE(R) prisoners, or the renewed attempt of prisoners in France to fight isolation, show that it is important to stick to this idea.

Sometime in '91, the 7 people (6 Germans, 1 Dutch) that were held longer, were startled by a message that there had been a trial in Brussels with out informing them, after a long period of silence, judicial consequences after all. It seems to especially aim at deteriorating people of carrying-out actions in the European capital, Brussels.

After the first sentence of 10 months imprisonment punishment was raised to 2 years of imprisonment on Oct. 25, '91, after the DA's office had gone into an appeal, charges included collective breach of peace, trespassing and vandalism. The verdict included also a judgement for the civil-court, the 7 people are to blame for all the damage which was done to the EC-office and its surroundings. How high this payment has got to be, will be established in civil-

court in the beginning of '92. Estimations are between 50,000 and 100,000 guildens. Typical for the atmosphere, in court were remarks comparing this trial with former trials with the CCC and the RAF. It means in practice that the 7 involved won't be able to travel abroad anymore, without the risk of being arrested and handed over to the Belgian cops, and that the damage-claim might lead to their official bankruptcy.

From the 1st of Jan. '93, when parts of the Schengen-treaty will become official, it will also be possible to be arrested in your own country, your sentence in their prisons.

Attempts to build up international exchange and discussion are of course heavily being attacked by this new system of extradition-laws. Where as such high claims on damage-payments are becoming more and more popular with justice-departments in West-Europe.

Day to day financial problems may absorb all your energy and time, which can't be put in political initiatives anymore.

The feeling of solidarity, which even became stronger throughout this action, was later-on heavily tested by the dwindling of resistance in West-Europe.

The occupation-action in '89 gave a good impression of how to solve many political problems of today, never-the-less, that's not enough.

In all the countries involved, groups fell apart, frustrations on countless goals that have not been achieved are big, including that on the hungerstrike in '89 itself. These leave us often mute. Day to day problems in our regions absorb those involved, so after the gathered evaluations of the action in the summer of '89, no further exchange took place.

Now after these verdicts have become reality, some timid attempts have been made to pick it all up again and carry the responsibilities and consequences together. Attempts to include the very bad situation of the political prisoners inside and the campaign for association outside in this process, meet many problems. Many questions that have been around since '89, have barely led to any conclusions and need to be answered! In the future more will be published in this newspaper.

**DON' LET FEAR RULE YOUR LIFE!  
ORGANIZE AND FIGHT THE POWER!**



# NO MORE CRIMINALISATION- RE-GROUPEMENT NOW!

Speech of the trial-group Bielefeld (Germany) against the raid on the AJZ (autonomous Youth center) and against the 129a-charge on the trialnewsbulletin, held on the demonstration on the 28th of November.

Last Tuesday the AJZ was raided by about 100 cops of the criminal investigation department Düsseldorf and cops of Bielefeld.

The reason: a 129a-charge (supporting a "terrorist-organisation") against ten people, because of spreading the trialnewsbulletin Nr.1 on the trial against Holger Deilke, (Holger Deilke was arrested together with Ute Hladki, being accused of supporting the RAF and being part of the so-called underground). These ten people are, except for Ute Hladki, all (former) members of the committee of the AJZ-association or of the information-center association (infoshop). The Attorney General von Stahl raises charges against the unknown members of the trial-group Bielefeld. That's us! We have met each other from Dezember '89 after the arrest of Ute and Holger. In the beginning with many people as a meeting, later then as trial-group with a smaller group. We wanted to

Murphy, Alan, Susan, Tim, Laura and Linda

Greetings of love and solidarity to all of you -

and a very special warm welcome to you Alan &



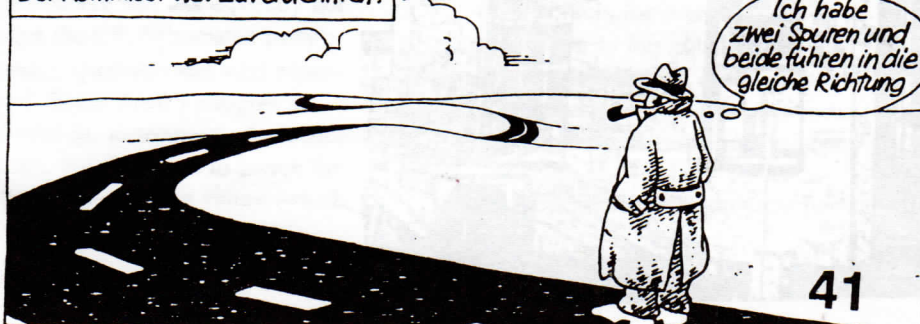
support Ute and Holger's imprisonment, to inform about and oppose to the lies the press and the council for the prosecution against them with practical solidarity, inform about the situation of the political prisoners and support them in their demand for re-groupement. (which means: that political prisoners are put into groups of their choice and by this, being able to communicate and so on.).

Then later when Ute was released from the prison because of her paralysis, and moved to Bielefeld, we started to give our best, so that Ute could stay outside. That means, that the charges against her must be lifted. That still did not happen. The second main task in our work was to mobilise against the 129a-trial against Holger, which started in April of this year (1991) in Hamburg. One aim was, to prevent a conviction of Holger, as being a member of the RAF (Red Army Fraction).

How did we want to achieve this?

That is simply clear to us, that we are working openly, being a trial-group, because we want to reach the publicity. To achieve this, we have held meetings, flyers, trial-café's, manifestations and ofcourse the trial-newsbulletins. Exactly there, the state-protectors are starting, to criminalize people who make public and resist the repressive state-policy.

Der Kommissar war zuversichtlich:



Why is our work disturbing the State-security?

It is a fact, that we take the trials against political opponents of this state away from the anonymous court-rooms out into the streets. And by this, making the truth, of how people here and their political opinion and acting are being condemned with lies, public and understandable. And by this, show in what kind of a state we are living here.

The other thing is, that we are here not only talking about 'them', but also about us and the aims and the ideas of those, which have gone in jail for this: The idea, to organise the struggle within the imperialist states. Against war-politics, bad living-conditions, the dividing of people into the useables and the not-useables who don't make anymore profit for the process of capitalistic production. Against the letting disappear the whole social poverty behind concrete walls, in prisons or behind nicely renovated and restructured city-façades.

To make oneself strong, to talk about our own liberation, about equally living together of all people.

An exchange about that is what the state wants to prevent, and also that out of that there grows a social companionship amongst those that resist.

Now an investigation after §129a is running, for "promotion for the Red Army Fraction", against ten people for "spreading" the trial-info (Prozeßinfo) Nr.1. They use concretely, that in this info-brochure on several places the demand for re-groupement of the political prisoners is stated. The criminalization of trial-support work is thereby put in the sequence of attacks of the last months against the political prisoners, their lawyers and people who show solidarity with them.

The political prisoners have been fighting for over 15 years for their re-groupement. The demand is taken up as their own, and fought for by more and more prisoners in all west-european countries and in Turkey. At this moment there are hungerstrikes by the Basque, French, Kurdish and Turkish prisoners. The demand for re-groupement into large collectives is put against the increasing and more and more unifying repression and the deteriorating living-conditions in the prisons.

Stammheim, soria, Eskisehir- those responsible are sitting here!

Herrera de la marcha, Fleury-Mérogis- we will never forget you!

Long Kesh and Anar II- The prisoners must be free!

Greetings to Mumia Abu-Jamal- Your friends are everywhere!

(in German these slogans rime, t.transl.)

But let's return to the sad ground of reality... The raid on the AJZ on last

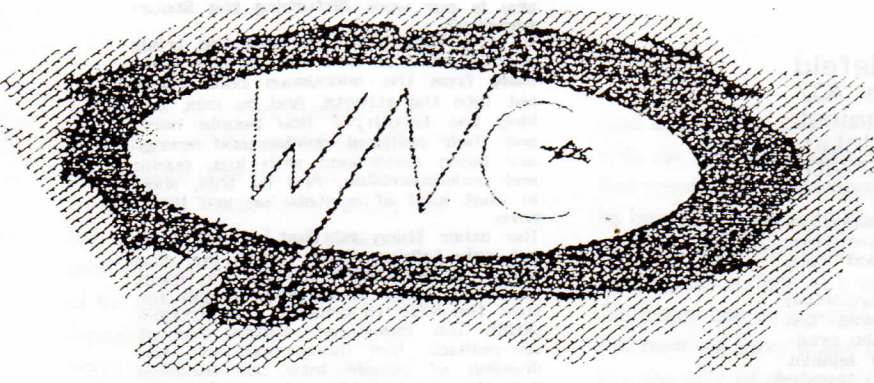
Tuesday is of course not only directed against the trial-group, those ten accused, but also against the infoshop and the whole AJZ. This is related to raids of the last weeks on infoshops in Hamburg, Berlin and Karlsruhe. The infoshops are (to them) a thorn in the eye. It are places for political information and communication. On the other hand the infoshops have created a national and international structure, that allows exchange and cooperation.

We have needed the infoshop for our work and we will be needing it furtheron. Just as we want that the whole AJZ keeps on existing!

We need autonomous centres. And everywhere in western Europe they are going against that: against Zaffaria and Reit-halle in Bern, against the Youth-house in Copenhagen, against -Blitz in Oslo, against the Hafenstrasse in Hamburg, against the squatted factory in Minueza in Madrid, against squatted houses in Paderborn or, like today the eviction of the houses squatted last Friday in Cologne.

Also the raid is one in the sequence of attacks against the AJZ in the last months. By attempts of the Verfassungsschutz (secret service) to enlist people, by hate-campaigns in the local press, by individual demands to testify at the police, the harsh conditions of the city-council and finally by, for the time being, withholding the public-money (of the AJZ, t.transl.). We take the threat, posed by the investigation of the Oberlandesgericht (a relatively 'high' court, t.transl.) in Düsseldorf against us, as serious. But we will neither let ourselves be silenced nor let us be stopped from our political work...





Netherlands.

Appeal in higher court of the WNC-defendants, resulting in jail-sentences for 8 people, discharging the others (129 people) accused.

#### Short review:

In May '90 the WNC in Groningen was evicted after being squatted for 4 1/2 years. The block of houses was then being defended by a mixed group of people after the local authorities had made clear there would be no way the WNC would exist furtheron.

The streets were barricaded, cops showing up were attacked and then, after a battle of five hours, people retreated inside the houses. The next day the cops stormed the houses, after which everybody went out and got arrested. 137 people were then imprisoned for 4 till 8 weeks, being interrogated, intimidated, beaten up, isolated and their rights ignored. All were convicted to 4 till 8 weeks of imprisonment in the trial that followed.

Now, 1 1/2 years later, the higher court judged that most of the accused were to be found not guilty! The state prosecutor failed in trying to get through his set up, accusing everybody of being part of a criminal organisation (paragraph 140) and of violating publicly (paragraph 141). The 8 people convicted are now facing jail-sentences of 3 (for 7)-and 4 months (one), seven because the court found their guiltiness was proven by there statements given during the interrogations, and one was sentenced on the base of a statement given ba somebody else.

The lawyers of the accused are now demanding compensation for the others for the time they have spent behind the bars.

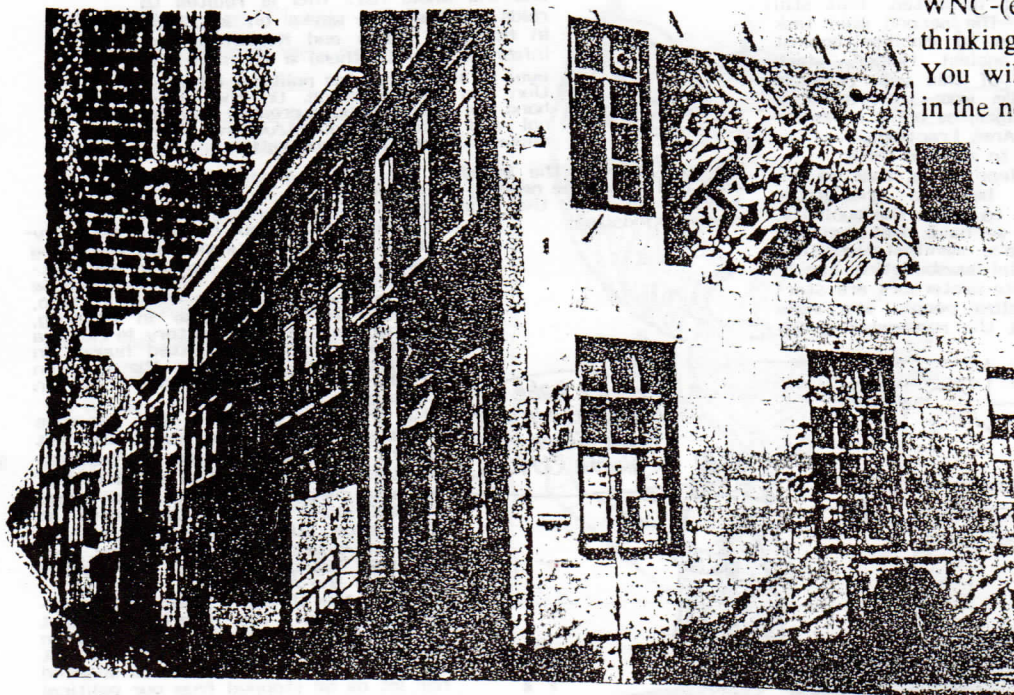
Offcourse the squatting in Groningen ( and in the rest of the NL, except for Nijmegen were its declared illegally), the spreading of informations, the resistance in general, continuos. But the discussions concerning the evictions of squatted houses and of how to act when you are arrested have disappeared more and more to the background ( read more about it in Clash numbers 0,1 and 2).

Still it is as important as before, to discuss and act against tha talking to the cops, and making clear that this can only lead to deviation, and worse, the imprisonment of struggling people.

Everything you say, can and will be used against you...

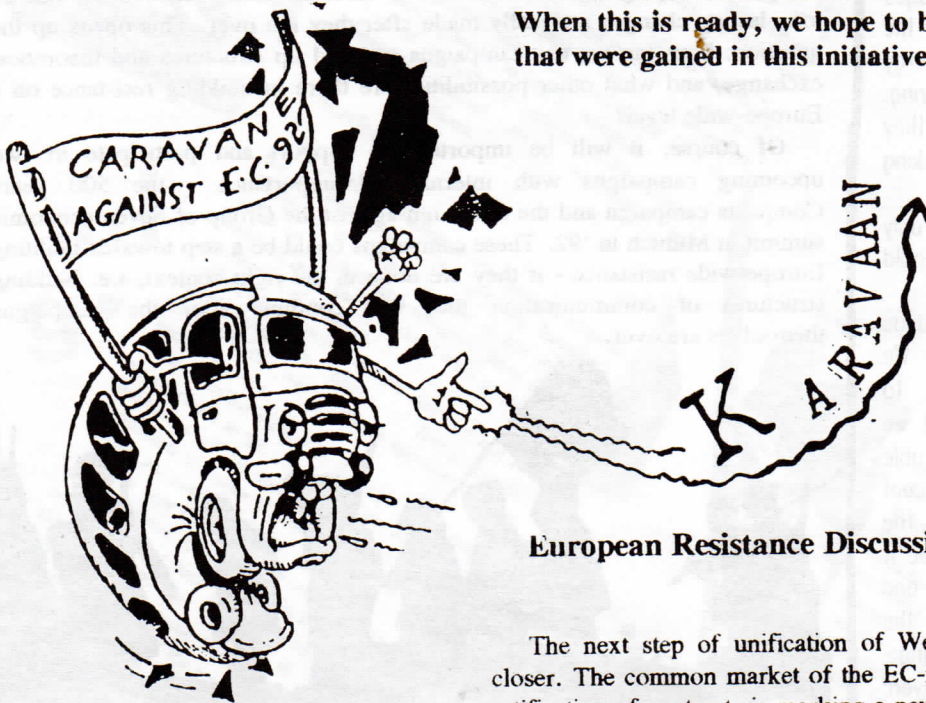
There is a lot more to say about the aftermath of the WNC eviction, about how the people in Groningen went on, about how the WNC-(eviction)experience influenced their thinking and acting.

You will (most probably) find more about it in the next issue.





The following article arrived from the people of the Caravan against Europe'92. As we (the redaction) understand, there is to come more documentation in a few months, in several languages. When this is ready, we hope to bring more about the experiences that were gained in this initiative.



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### European Resistance Discussion

The next step of unification of West- and Middle Europe is coming closer. The common market of the EC-member countries and the successive ratification of contracts is marking a new phase of EC as superpower. A lot of different leftwing groups have tried to analyze the consequences of this development. But there is still a big difference in the level of discussion in the various European countries. Certainly one of the reasons is that the numerous European countries are hit in a different way by the unification-policy, and depending on the national specifications there are different consequences.

The European left wing resistance is very split because of communication problems, economic, social and cultural differences. At the same time the Europe of capitalism grows united in its political power, gaining economic, military and repressive strength.

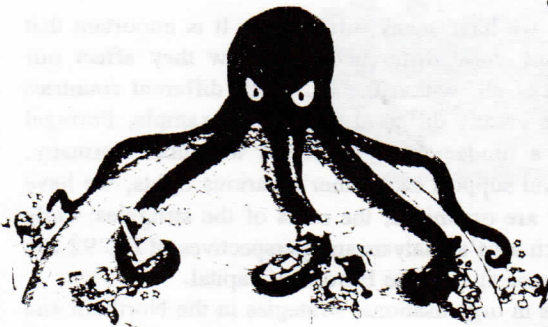
For example, in the future, security policy and foreign policy will become more and more products of a unified EC. In connection with the collapse of the so-called socialist system, Western Europe gains a military role in its "backyard-regions" i.e. the Eastern states.

In the same way, as security policies head towards an EC-wide level, repression increases and resistance becomes harder to build. Correspondingly, immigration policy is being planned, where European Unification means keeping the borders shut for immigrants and refugees.

That's why there is a need for the radical left to include the European dimension in its discussions and reactions. Still some resistance movements are only looking towards the national level. We think there is a need to build communication throughout Europe to change this situation.

Inside of the EC working group of the infoshop structure we have been working on this problem. The Stop-Europe'92 Caravan was a step in this direction. The goal of the Caravan was to help build up Europe-wide resistance against EC'92 - to begin discussions, bring information together, and increase communications as well as participating in demonstrations and actions throughout Europe.

The success of the Caravan was very limited. One reason was a lack of participation, preparation and follow-up on the part of the Infoshop network. But more importantly, it was difficult to make the theoretical and practical discussions in different towns, because of a general lack of discussion all over Europe about the current development of the EC'92. Further, we





From the 15. 8 to the 15.10 1991 the "Stop Europe 92" Caravan travelled through seven different European countries. During two months 60-100 people from 12 different countries visited the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, France and Spain.

The idea came up at an international infoshop meeting in september '90. The idea was to connect resistance-structures in the different countries and to inform about the disadvantages of european unification. The next months the preparation group spent a lot of time and energy for the practical and theoretical organizing: Looking for a bus, writing to the cities they wanted to visit, producing a brochure, checking out the finances etc.

When the caravan started, we realized that only a few people of the preparation group would participate.

Most of the people had their own ideas independent from the preparation group. We realised that the caravan is no project to consume, but that we are the caravan, that we have to fill up this idea with life. We weren't able to think about our own meaning of a concept because we tried to follow the original plan. The caravan-group got a lot of criticism because it was not as political as it should have been and as it was announced. After this critic and the discussion about it we made three working-groups with the themes of the caravan: Repression, migrants/migrant politics, structure of EC'92 city forming. In these groups we wanted to have continuing discussions as a base to work on, and to tell something about them in the different countries. Some of us were in a group because we wanted to work on a theme, others because they thought they had to be in a group. The work in these groups was very hard and drawn out.

After four weeks we finished these working-groups and decided to continue the work only with people who were really interested. At the same time we stopped chasing the political claim of the caravan, we started to create our own claims in a way that were more realistic for us. We removed some of the pressure to enable us to cope with everything. The atmosphere became more relaxed. The political work, like country-reports, speeches etc. went on like before, although of course it was not as much as it should have been.

People from the caravan

encountered great communication difficulties - these ranged from a lack of translated texts to big problems in making contacts with organisations/structures in many areas.

For the Caravan, the final question is/was, "Did the Caravan spark new/more discussions and actions on the issue of EC'92?" It was our experience that it is impossible to envision a unified, Europe-wide campaign against EC'92.

Many people question the effectiveness of campaigns in general (such as the Caravan, anti-IMF, the upcoming Group of Seven and anti-500 years conquista campaigns.) Much energy is directed during campaigns, but no long-lasting changes are really made after they are over. This opens up the question: how can we use campaigns to build up structures and theoretical exchange, and what other possibilities are there in building resistance on a Europe-wide level?

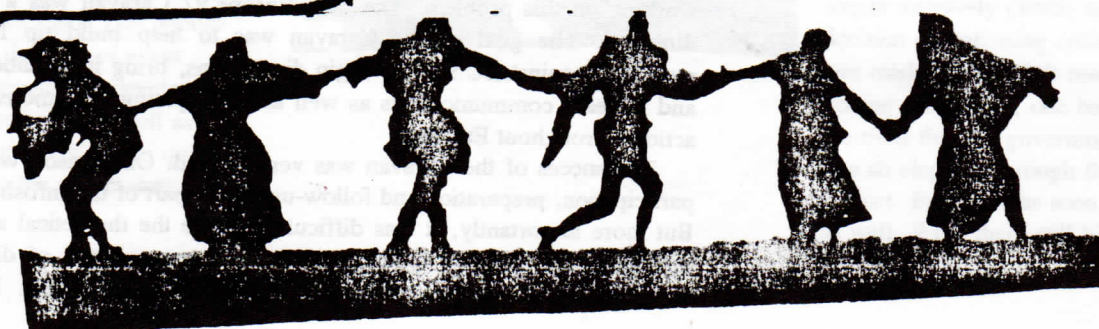
Of course, it will be important to support and participate in two upcoming campaigns with international importance - the 500 years Conquista campaign and the campaign against the Group of Seven economic summit in Munich in '92. These campaigns could be a step towards building Europe-wide resistance - if they are done in the right context, i.e. building structures of communication that will continue after the campaigns themselves are over.



What roles should such future structures have? There are many problems we face in organising on a Europe-wide level. First there are communication problems - we need an information structure where it is possible to exchange information, translate texts and facilitate discussion on a Europe-wide level. Perhaps groups publishing theoretical texts should make english translations of their texts always available.

On a Europe-wide level, we have many differences. It is important that we have an understanding of these differences and how they affect our strategies and theories. First of all, within the EC itself, different countries are affected by unification in greatly different ways. For example, Portugal and Greece are affected in a fundamentally different way than Germany, France etc. To understand and support each other's various fights, we have to know about the way they are organised, the roots of the struggles. Only with an understanding of each area's analysis and perspectives of EC'92 can we build more unified resistance against the Europe of capital.

There are also differences in organisational strategies in the Northern and Southern European countries. For example in Italy, there is a well-organised structure of left-wing resistance, while in Germany resistance is more decentralised. Also, discussions about issues of patriarchy, racism and sexuality differ greatly in the left communities of northern and southern Europe.





A lot of important decisions about Europe's future are based on the situation in Eastern Europe. But our connections with Eastern European countries are weak; additionally, as our situations are vastly different, so differ our goals, strategies and assumptions. Often when we talk about "Europe", we are really only talking about "Western Europe". The links to the east must be made and improved.

Our political discussions and actions must also deal with the essential point of the international system of exploitation, which becomes sharper with the formation of the EC. It would be the biggest mistake to accept the wall which is already being built around Europe, and ignore the international systems of racism, sexism and exploitation, of which the EC is such a big part.

One result of this system is the refugee movement towards and within the West. The fight for the right of every individual to remain in the country of their choice is a fight against the worldwide system of oppression. But to do this, we, as individuals and as a community, need to look at our personal racist ideas and ways of organising, as we support the struggles of refugees and foreigners. Only then can we start to make concrete links between our communities, in our towns and neighbourhoods.

Is it possible to address and solve these questions through the existing Europe-wide structures and campaigns? We want to open this discussion/debate, and it should be held in all the structures (papers, meetings, infoshops) of left-wing resistance in Europe. We propose that people send articles about this subject to the Clash magazine, as Clash is one of the few existing Europe-wide forums for written discussions.



Some very short remarks to clarify the part from Queer Nation to non-USA readers:

Queer Nations are groups of radical gays. There are now over 30 Queer Nation groups in the USA and Canada. Part of their strategy can be described as "mental guerilla" against hetero's and generally against those in power.

Some terminology: queer = 'insulting' name for a gay man, but taken up by gays as an honorary name.

dyke = the same but for lesbians

queen = gay man, especially when he provokes by acting "effeminate"

We hope to bring more about Queer Nation in one of the following issues.



**The Queer Nation Party  
(and we do mean PARTY, sister)  
Knows This Election Is  
Gonna Be A Drag...  
So We Decided to Make It  
A Real Drag**



**Queer Nation Chicago Endorses  
JOAN JETT BLAKK  
FOR PRESIDENT**



ELECTIONS ARE A JOKE  
WE'RE MAKING THIS ONE A GOOD JOKE

Compare the Candidates:  
George Bush Says:  
"I, ah, uh, (choke,  
cough)... (thyroid  
attack)."  
Jay Rockefeller Says:  
"Old money rules."

JOAN SPEAKS "OUT" ON THE ISSUES  
(Her "platform on platform heels")

issue

Joan

Defense:....."Hire Dykes on Bikes."  
Police Brutality:....."Hire Dykes on Bikes...or outlaw donuts."  
Housing:....."Give everybody a house."  
Unemployment:....."Give everybody a job."  
Abortion:....."Whose body is it? And how dare any man have  
an opinion on abortion?"  
The Environment:....."Whose body is it?"  
Foreign Policy:....."Bring me some foreigners--we'll talk. I'll  
show you MY foreign policy. Bring me some  
Swedes, some Dutchboys..."  
Lesbian and Gay Rights:...."That's an issue?! I thought it was a GIVEN."  
Congress:....."Hire Dykes on Bikes."  
The Supreme Court:....."Diana, Flo, and Mary need a new gig. They've  
been Supremes for years now...and they look  
Great in long black dresses."



"I promise to be the prettiest president  
EVER, and that ain't a hard promise to  
keep." Joan Jett Blakk, Mayor of Gay  
Chicago



Joan thinks elections in this country stink.



But she wants you to make this one special.

Fore more information and to be a part of Joan's national campaign, contact Queer Nation  
Chicago at PO Box 166, 606 W. Barry, Chicago, IL 60657  
or contact one of the 32 Queer Nation Chapters located in cities across the U.S. Why have a plain  
old president in the oval office when you could have a queen?



# SPAIN: Manifesto of the campaign

## " LET'S UNMASK 1992 "

In 1991 a series of festivities and remarkable incidents (EXPO- world-exposition, Olympic games, Madrid-Cultural-Capital of Europe) will co-incident in the spanish state, which, contemplated globally will transform us into a display window of the developed capitalism's new model for the whole world, which presents itself as the only way to human progress. This whole spectacle is the preparation for a new phase of power, the emblematic construction of capitalism: the common market of Europe.

To unmask "the big party of 1992" we plan a campaign with 4 main topics:

- 1) Against the festivities of the V. centenario of the "discovery of America", to support solidarily all the activities of the Indian-people in their campaign "500 years of popular and indigenous resistance"
- 2) Against the population policy which the international organisations and the northern countries like to impose by forced birth control that means massive sterilisation of the southern people. Against the promotion of racism in the north and the construction of a new wall to hinder the assault of emigrants on the fortresses of the developed capitalism.
- 3) We want to explain the inability of the market and of the present governments to cope with the present ecological crisis, which has a planetary importance. The scientific-technological innovations of the EXPO and the proposals of environmental conference in Brasil will only serve to cover this problems. An ecological change according to human needs, can only take place with profound changes of the social system.
- 4) The common market of 1993 in Europe deepens the regional differences and the bad environmental situation. And, most important, it creates a larger social segregation, the "Cuarto Mundo" (Fourth world) of the north: the poor, the unemployed, the overexploitation of children, women and immigrants, the precarisation of employs and the misery belts of the metropolises which spread like wildfire. It's necessary to point on the

social fiasco of the north because of the approval they need and because of the vague of repressions and social control we expect.

The campaign "Let's unmask 1992" supports all kinds of activities in 1992 connected to the above mentioned issues, little and big activities all over the spanish state. In spite of that we want to point out the most important events in a "calendar"

### January, 2nd in Granada

- Manifestation against the official act of the capitulation of Granada with the royal couple.

- Action days for tolerance between cultures and people

### April, 18th - 24th in Sevilla

- International solidary meeting

- Internationalist camp, action-days, discussions, expositions

- permanent tribunal of the people in cooperation with Lelio Basso foundation about the "discovery of America and international law"

- 19.4.: Contradesembario at the Guadalquivir-river and demonstration after:

- the arrival of the european caravan against 1992 on april, 18th, which will have started on april. 11th.

- A ship-manifestation at Sanlucar de Barrameda on April, 18th, to ship on the Guadalquivir to Sevilla the following day.

### April in Madrid

- Mobilisation against the start of the high-speed-train Madrid-Sevilla

### June in Barcelona

- Activities against the Olympic Games

### July 23rd and 24th in Madrid

- Mobilisation against the intended creation of an iberian-economic-influenced area in Latin America, coinciding with the conference of iberian-american heads of the state.

### September in Gasteiz (Vitoria)

- MiKelin 1992: Festivities in support of the independence of Euskadi.

### September in Madrid

- World-Congress of alternative energy parallel to the official world congress of energy, held by the World Energy Agency in Madrid.

### October in Madrid

- International Congress on social movements

### December in Madrid

- International meeting on common market, territories, environment and society.



*Manifestation of indigenas, spanish and other people in front of Columbus' grave- in the cathedral of Sevilla on 12.10.91 during a mass. When the cops dispersed the manifestation by force an indigena woman gets a hit on a head from behind while denouncing the "discovery of America" as an act of piracy.*



# One Spot to the 500 years Campaign in FRG

1992 will also stand under the banner of the campaign "500 years of indian, black and general popular uprising." A campaign which is primarily initiated by the Indigenas of latin america.

The cause (reason) for this is the 500th anniversary of the landing of Columbus in America, in this country also called "discovery". but also more right: the conquering of America - Conquista.

It is the 500th anniversary of colonial exploitation, barbarity and genocid in a dimension which has never taken place before. which has created the basis of the still existing world order in our days.

While the indigenous organizations are calling for the uprising against.

500 years of oppression. the white masters want to celebrate their triumph and their order with splended festivals. In the FRG there still has been little radical opposition against it. Indeed there are groups of the Third world solidarity movement and reformistic groups working for a long time (the scale runs from clerical groups up to the party of the greens) at the preparation of this campaign. But their activities are concentrated on a institutional frame.

Several groups out of the resistance movement

and the left-wing solidarity movement have tried to place own topics and impetus on the campaign (and on to the streets) and to mobilize by an action-week in Oct .91. But this initiative was picked up only by few people and had no big effect.

Why? Shure it is important to see that for the movement a lot of the weak forces already are fixed on opposing the fascists and racists mobilization on the streets. But it is important to realize too, that in internationalist policy, like in other political areas too, there have risen up basical questions who have a paralyzing effect on concrete initiatives.

The understanding of internationalism that expresses itself in solidarity work to the suppressed people in the "3rd world" without struggling for a changing here in the imperialist centers got obsolete, is no longer appriativ to the political situation .

Since the break-down of the SU at the latest no liberation movement can force through itself as long as also the power-constellation in the capitaistic centers USA, EG, Japan, are not changed in our favour. This means, that the revolutionary forces have to refer to another and co-operate much more on world-wide level. But

for internationalist practice here this means too and more than ever to place our work here in the heart of the beast.

It is an expression of a new power-constellation that it has been possible to force through the gulf-war in UNO politically. But an other aspect is, that this war could be forced through also in the heads of the people here largely.

The rulers (and others) propaganda could use a latent rasism here, that after the war works off in a racist mobilization against foreigners and refugees that had not been there since 50 years. The rulers manage it to push the exaggerated conditions here into a direction corresponding to their interests.

All this are objective reasons for the concentration of internationalist policy of the conditions in the imperialist centers. But there are also subjective reasons. The global march through of the pigs leaved a feeling of weakness to a lot of people, hopelessness. Internationalism for..., that takes its motivation above all from a frugal sense of duty and responsibility and offers no starting-point and perspective for the social change here and the own subjective development gets in this situation to an exertion that less



and less people can summon up and that also develops no more mobilizing force.

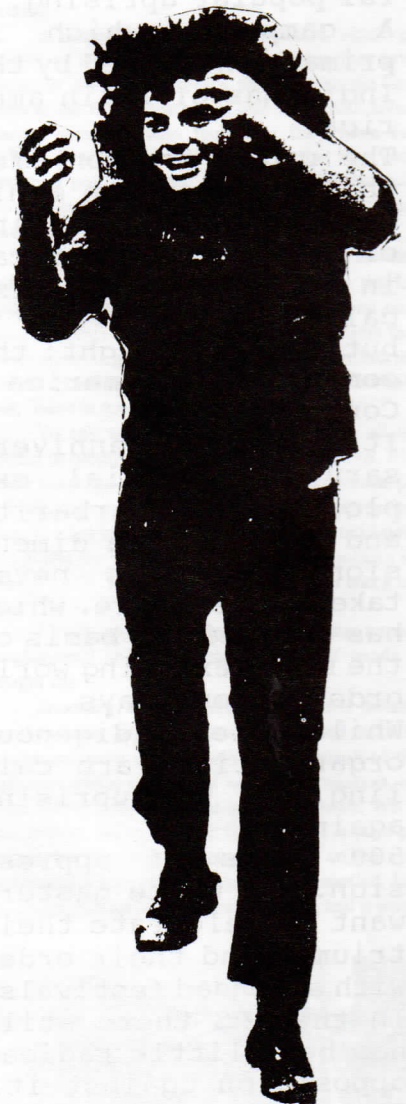
At present no concept, no political ideas and practice exists, that can dissolve this dilemma. How to develop further internationalist policy (inspite of all difficulties and problems here, it shure should not go by the board) so that it picks up and supports 3rd worlds' struggles and develops political force here.

Also the liberation movements get to different aspects in this. Whereas f.ex. PKK (workers-party of Kurdistan) requires us to support the struggles of the supressed people in the three continents, MLN Puerto Rico gives us the advice to concentrate us on enforcing the resistance here. We would help them best if we get stronger here. But both have in some questions the same opinion: they criticize our disorganizing, our distance to the people here (to the "normal" people, like we call them often) and to their problems and our mean ideological debates and quarrells. They have the wish for a internationalist discussion of the revolutionary forces in common, to learn from each other and to reach a solidarity of the struggles world-wide.

Perhaps the answer to the questions mentioned above is in a practice, that do concentrate on the struggles (and not only on the "victims") and combines practical solidarity with the common political discussion. This does not only opens the possibi-

lity for a stronger growing together of the struggles, but can give much more stimulating experience and motivation for solidarity actions as an exhausting, just supporting fulfilment of duty.

A further, possible starting point is the anti-racist struggle. On one hand racism is a substantial intersection in the clash between North and South and in the fascist mobilization here. On the other hand the discussion of the reasons for people to flee their countries leads directly from racist propaganda to the internationalist anti-imperialist position. The following text is an appeal of the resistance in FRG to take part in the preparation of a counter-congress to the World-Economy-Summit (= G 7 meeting) in July 92, in Munich. In short it gives the present level of the practical considerations (mass-demonstration, action-days, counter-congress), that has been worked-out by a wide alliance from resistance to really state-bearing reformists. But at the most it develops from the counter-congress a starting-point for how to solve the questions and contradictions mentioned above: Theoretically in the international discussion, whereas the conditions here (EC '92, role of Great-Germany) and also the present struggles like f. ex. the anti-racist, anti-fascist mobilization shall be an important part of the congress as well as in practice in frame of the mass-demonstration and the action-days.





**ANTI  
WWG  
INFO  
1992**

**Widerstand gegen**

**Befreiung von**

**HERRSchender Weltordnung**



INFO DES LINKSRADIKALEN TREFFENS GEGEN WWG IN MÜNCHEN  
500 Jahre Kolonialismus und Kapitalismus sind genug!

**Send the imperialist  
pigs to hell**

1992 - the 500 anniversary of american continents conquest by white, european colonialists. Grandiose festivities of the master-people will celebrate this event. The Indigena people call up for a rebellion against the '500 years old reich (empire)'. And we in the center of this world order, what will we do?

The presidents of the 7 most powerful states will met for World-Economy-Summit from 6. to 8. of July 92 in Munich. In the chain of the conferences, festivities, but also crisis-meetings is 1992 just one event. The half millenium of colonialist barbarity, this world order is basing on continously FRG's rise to worldpower, common market and political union EC 92 and the dissolving of sowjets system are the framework. The racists and fascists on the streets and within the institutions plucked up courage. To confront the world's economy kings and with that

the masters of the world with strong protest and resistance is one possibility to declare enmity to this world order.

A few imaginations have singled out:

\* a **big demonstration** on saturday (4. July 92) shall manifest our anger and criticism on the streets of Munich even before the official opening.

\* **action-days** shall not only keep us in suspense but express the different aspects of suppression and resistance in diverse manners and forms.

\* by a **Counter-Congress**, lasting several hours there shall be analysis, reflexion and discussion about 'Resistance against/Liberation from/Alternatives to the prevailing world-order' (Titel of the Congress) We don't want to present the results of their policy to the rulers, not to act the victim-ceremony to them, like a kurdish comrad said. Analysing the ruling conditions of suppression gets a sense by the discussion of perspectives for liberation. In this we see the importance and chance of a

counter-congress. For that we want to discuss with people of basic- and liberation process' in the 3rd world, East-Europe and the imperialist centers about their and our struggling experiences and perspectives.

Until now it have been only single groups who worked on this idea. All are in concrete discussions and we do so too. And it is a strain to get clear heads and hands over and above the questions and requirements of the daily practice. The 500 years/world-economy-summit-mobilization as an additional 'specific field'-activity that we saddle us and others with! No, thank you! We have sufficient reasons to try this attempt out of our specific initiatives, whether there are: organizing of anti-fascist self-help, the acting against racism together with refugees, the attempt to conquer space and centers for ourselves again and again, to act against sexist suppression, to struggle together with the revolutionary prisoners for regroup-



ement and Freedom or others. To create the correlation between on one side 500 years of colonialism and world-economy-summit and on the other side the social contradiction in which we establish resistance and self-organization is obvious.

### **Toward questions of the discussion.**

We regard the world-economy-summit as a suitable event to form steps which are any how necessary. The mobilization will be as strong as it will be possible to start working on concrete problems. To go on a demonstration, single actions can be a short time thing. Already now an action-week with mass-demonstration, counter-congress and action-days means a lot of work, discussions and initiatives. Is it too much in a situation when only few groups can determine and put into action long-term projects? Only few people do a lot, for the moment many people cannot imagine such a discussion (also in difficult discussion with people of different political background).

We don't want a leaflet mobilization to Munich. There have to be a development in the several cities and regions. Creating initiatives which come together. Work-shops have to come into being in Nürnberg. Without development there will

be no mobilization. It will depend on if there are more productive relations from us to other parts of the "scene", generations, political sections. As it is now, how far the social isolation can be abolished, if the process among ourselves gives us power and a lot of other things. This has not only pragmatic reasons, about our weakness. The developing of emancipatory policies new organization is not only a task of left-wing radicals alone, it will only be productive with all people who struggle for a change.

Also the experience of more than 20 years requests for a re-determination of policy. This insight is to see every where and also included in the critical remarks towards "campaign-policy", the warning of repetition that live from ups and downs and is afraid of the "bother of the levels".

(This applies on groups of the resistance who first want to have answers on all questions out of history and present situation of the movement before they want to be practical again.. They criticized the 500-years campaign because in the last 10 years there were many of campaigns of the autonomous sector who fizzled out after short time.)

We don't see the danger to cover the left-wings crisis by the mobilization to the 500 years/world-economy-summit. We take it to our starting-point. We see no sense in a debate, ad hoc decided and without practice staying abstract, about strategy and principle and believe that by having a discussion like this a reorientation of left-wing radical policy that includes reappraisal of the experiences is impossible. Without practice there is no perspective. It has to be visible for all which questions are already really solved. No one will assert that afterwards everything will be different or that strategy and organization have been found now. But only in an open process that is based on the history of all of us something will develop.

International discussion is no substitute or detour, but without it nothing can become clearer. The experiences of struggling process in other parts of the world, not instead, but for to reconstruct and generalize our own experience as history of the resistance.

(about the discussion in the alliance: the reformist groups who are organized in a separate group "Clearing House" have already made clear that they will held the congress in any case no matter if



the radical left-wing forces will take part or not. But they know that in difference to the resistance they will hardly mobilize people for the mass-demonstration and the action-days. But without wide mobilization on the streets also the congress will not have big effects. So they try to draw out the discussions about substantially questions and determinations and to transfer the discussion from the wide basis of the action-conference into small delegates-committees which they as institutional organisations can dominate more easy. To they show themselves interested in all subjects and proposals but struggle against making clear political statements and demands as the

substantially basis of the congress. But only with clear political statements and demands political sharpness can be achieved.

The result of last alliences meeting reflects the present situation. Whether more people of the resistance decide to co-operate will be crucial for how deciding these positions will really be expressed on the congress (and in the campaign).)

A policy that at the most criticise aspects of dominion as an outward condition understands in resistance only the well prepared arrangement in the dialogue with the rulers. This means: The different congress (They would like most to sit together with the G 7

- governments at the table).

Also caused by the limited participation of left-wings radical groups, of immigrants and exile-organisation these contradictions didn't get sharp. Nevertheless they are present: To invite only speakers who develop resistance out of their analysis excludes the dialogue f. ex. with the boss of Daimler-Benz, Reuter; it is not possible to develop an anti-racist direction of the congress together with ÖDP ( a reactionary Ecology-Party) which is represented in Clearing House. ...This contradiction can be developed at every subject.

#### Record of the work-shop 'Counter-Congress' from 8.12. in Frankfurt/Main (FRG)

##### 1. Scope and character of the World Economy Summits Counter-Congress 1992

- \* We only want to invite speakers who develop resistance out of their analysis or work in liberation- and basic movements.
- \* We want to strive for the Congress' publicity effect.
- \* Analysis and discussion shall work out the responsibility of the G 7 - states/governments for the worlds situation.
- \* The discussing of resistance' experiences, alternatives and strategies for overcoming the old 'New World Order' shall have a large space on the congress.
- \* Between North and South, between on one side resistance in the '3rd world' and immigrants and on the other side opponents of the world order from the imperialist countries - common and equal discussion is wanted. To reach

this aim immigrants and the movements of the '3rd world' shall even take part in the preparations, if possible.

\* At least 50 % of the speakers shall be women. Patriarchal structures and sexism have to be themes in all work-shops and forum.

\* There shall be a separate women-forum.

\* The respective role of FRG is a theme in the particular forum and work-shops.

forces (f. ex. RDF), WEU (West-European Union), NATO, the role of international institutions like Worldbank, IMF, KSZE, UNO (reform or abolish), the question of national states' future.

\* Trans-national trusts, EC'92 - Common Market.

\*\*The role of FRG \*\* systematic humiliation of human-rights \*\* Sexism, sex-specific exploitation and suppression - shall be a theme in all subjects.

\* The congress must not stay in competition to the demonstration (that means accordingly agreements about the time-table).

\* It shall be bothered for an action unity of Counter-Congress/ mass-demonstration/action-days.

##### 2. Subjects of the Counter-Congress

\* A separate women-forum.

\* 500 Years of suppression and resistance (not only in Latin-America); EC'92, indebtedness as instruments of domination against the '3rd world' and East-Europe.

\* The North blocks off. Racism, Immigration, international refugee movements.

\* Ecology-imperialism, world-wide plundering of resources, principal cause of the 'global ecology-crisis': the prevailing, capitalist consumption- and production model, crisis-management according to UNCED.

\* Instruments of securing dominion, militarization, rapid intervening



We took this article from INFO-DISTRIBUTOR, Vienna. It is a report from two members of MLN in Puerto Rico about their journey through Europe and was published in MLN newspaper LA PATRIA RADICAL

## MLN - TOUR through 19 european cities

*Paris, France: In spite of the capability for mass-mobilization like the 1. Mai-demonstration in Berlin with 20.000 people and their powerful underground-organizations, from GRAPO in Spain to RAF and RZ in Germany, the european revolutionary movement regards itself confronted with ideological and structural problems and cannot get out of.*

*A picture on a post-card gives the best description of their self-portrait: on a stormy, tempestuous sea Karl Marx is rowing in a small boat. The experiences we made during our one-month travel through 6 countries and 19 cities with the european Left however are in contrary to the pessimism of its exponents.*

*In Madrid, Sevilla, Rome, Zürich, Vienna, in big parts of Germany, Netherland and Paris wonderful intellects are seriously working on the studies of new ideas, publish newspapers for a wide distribution and do solidarity-work with movements all over the world. We spoke to nearly 1400 people in these cities, who are travelling around in Europe a lot, are familiar with the others struggles and are internationalists in best tradition of communism.*

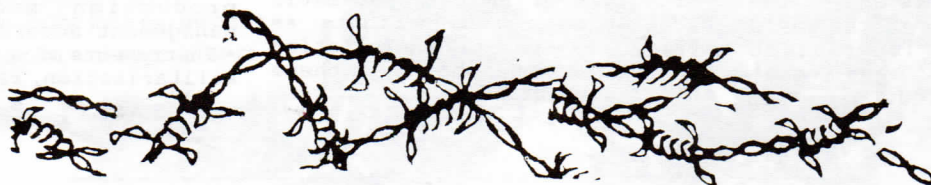
*It was a warm and impressing support that has been shown for the little-known puertorican liberation-struggle and our demand for the release of the political prisoners and the prisoners of war. Demonstrations and "educational actions" will take place in all cities we have visited.*

*Only in Bologna, Milano and in Berlin the participation and interest was small. But in Bologna and Milano it have been special internal organization problems that make up the problems in these cities.*

*The problem in Berlin was a definite lack of interest and preparation-work for our coming. The small participation stood in drastic contrary to former solidarity-meetings with the black movement in USA, where at one meeting the lecture-hall of the Technical University with 400 seats was crowded.*

*Although in Paris no meetings took place, the reasons for this - the hungerstrike of the political prisoners out of Action Directe and Mitterands social-democratic regime - were more than excusable. As we entered the security-area of De-Gaulle airport our passports got confiscated, our luggage got searched and x-rayed and before we could enter the plane to New York we were searched through once again by states-security, this time our hand-luggage. On this occasion Rita Cordovas note-book got photo-copied, my travel-reports with telephone-numbers got photo-copied too and a belt calibre-38 (the type that explodes if it hits the head) was hidden in my handbag. As I unpacked my papers and newspapers that I have collected in Europe I found the belt.*

*At the moment five important topics determine the debates in the Left: the antiimperialist work, mass-work in the several countries, organization structures, the 500 years-festivities of the so-called discovery of America and political prisoners. Political conflicts towards these topics have their origin in the experiences in the 80th. The debate towards these themes is getting even more complicated by the inexplicable and dissipating polarization between the calling themselves antiimperialists and the Autonomes (the first regard the raising of consciousness as the main task of the antiimperialists because there is no class-struggle; the second part regards popular themes like racism against foreign workers, squatters rights, repression etc. as important themes).*





*Because of the danger that in hierarchic structures power becomes abused by "leaders" the movement structurally refers to anarchism. There is an obsessive fear of structures and leadership, what leads to a lacking of effective organization.*

*The active support of political prisoners also suffers from these sterile debate and fears. Similar to the puertorican liberation-movement during the early 80th the support of political prisoners gets refused by some sectors because the tactics and ideology of the organizations the prisoners belong to gets disapproved.*

*Though there are signs that the european Left becomes aware of these problems and concerns for solving the problemes. But at first vacuum by the lack of leadership have to be filled.*

*Our experiences in Europe show that there are thousands of young people who play a bigger role in the development of a new Left and that the movement they are representing has more substance as they want to admit themselves.*

*Our claim is that the movements potential is so big that the Left in Europe might become one of the basic forces of an international movement of the New Left if it takes their task to establish unity serious.*

*We say this in clear conviction that a new Internationale is possible because of the communist parties (who in Europe furtheron move to the right and change their names to conform themselves to the "new conditions") surrender of any ambitions on left-wing positions. This Internationale might include all forces for independence in all continents and unite the forces for socialism and national liberation.*

*From: La Patria Radical, Newspaper of MLN (Puerto Rico)*





## INTERVIEW WITH ELIZAM ESCOBAR

### Prisoner out of the puertorican independence-movement

broadcasted by Northeastern Illinois University Station WZRD in September 26 th 1991 at 2.00 p.m.

Q: We are on the air. You are listening to WZRD, 88.3 FM. And we have with us an artist and activist that I spoke of before. Could you introduce yourself, Elizam?

EE: Yes. My name is Elizam Escobar, and I am a member of the independence movement, and I have been in prison since 1980. And I am also dedicated to the art activity. I have been engaged in the struggle for independence and the activity of art simultaneously. I am interested in participating in your program and see what we can achieve, and, you know, have a dialogue. I believe it's about censorship, no?

Q: Can you tell the listening audience what happened on April, was it April 4th, and what's led up to...

EE: Listen, you know it's very difficult to hear you.

Q: All right. You are calling from prison right now. And I was reading you 're a Puerto Rican imprisoned here in the states. Could you tell us what happened back then, eleven years ago?

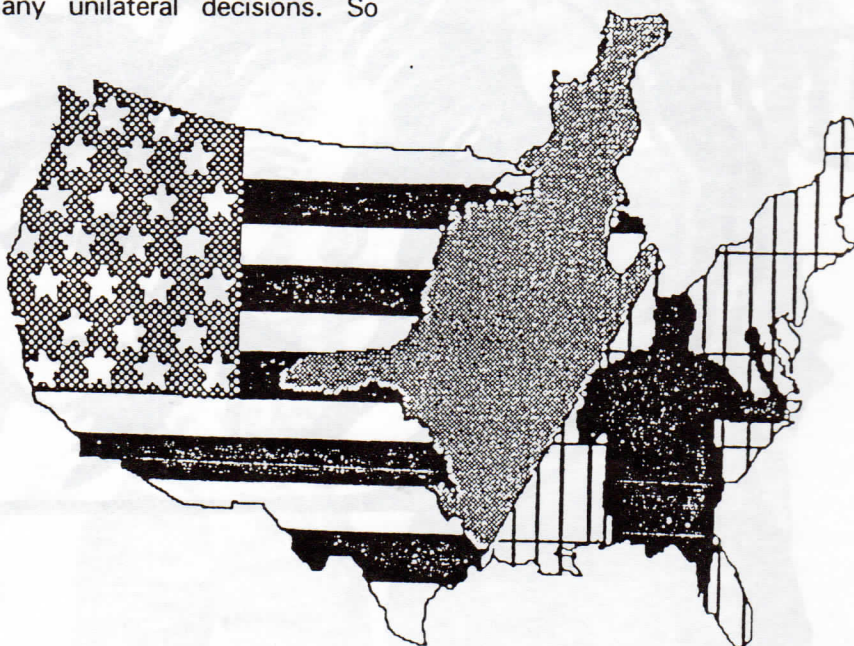
EE: OK, let me see if I heard. You said you would like to know what happened on April 4, 1980?

Q: Yes.

EE: Well, basically, a group of people who were involved in the clandestine struggle, fighting for the independence of Puerto Rico, were arrested in Evanston. And right away we were identified, some of us were identified as members of the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (Armed Forces of the National Liberation)). After that, we were tried in the state court and then we had a federal trial. So, we were accused of seditious conspiracy, which is a conspiracy to overthrow the legal government, or the legal authority of the government by force. Our

response to the accusation of conspiracy, of seditious conspiracy was that we, well, first we didn't recognize the jurisdiction of the U.S. court to judge us, to try us, because in our case, being a colonial country, we adhere to international law and to many other international principles that see the right of a colonial people to struggle against colonialism using all means available, including armed struggle. And the second thing is that, in our case, the government of Puerto Rico, the colonial government of Puerto Rico, is not a legal government, because it violates a treaty that existed at the time between Spain and Puerto Rico and we were achieving, we were developing an autonomous government towards a future independence. So when the United States invaded Puerto Rico, they usurped that state, that situation. And later on, in Paris, in the Treaty of Paris, They obligated the Spanish state to give up, to give Puerto Rico as a war booty to the United States. In this treaty, the puertoricans didn't have any participation. So one of the conditions of the treaty between Spain and the Puerto Rican government at the time was that there couldn't be any unilateral decisions. So

therefore, since Puerto Rico didn't participate, the Paris Treaty under international law is not valid. So therefore, we, our response to the accusation of seditious conspiracy is that we cannot overthrow a legal government because it's not a legal government. Under international law, it's still an illegal government. In the trials we never assumed any defense, any legal defense, any defense that has to do with defending ourselves of our participation, of our taking the choice of fighting colonialism. We never participated in the trials, with the exception of some political, principled statements. So we were treated, we were criminalized. We were treated as people who violated the laws of the state. And basically they said that our political thinking or our political ideas were not on trial, but in reality, there is no way that you can separate our actions and our political ideas and commitment. So we were sentenced to very long years in prison, basically, you know, we will spend the rest of our lives in prison. And, so since then, we have been, all eleven years and a





half-- it's going to be twelve years since we have been in prison-- and we have been resisting from prison and still committed, even more today, to the independence of our country, to self-determination. And it's ironically that globally, the United States is very vocal in supporting the independence struggles and the claims for independence of other countries, like the Baltic countries. But in the meantime, they are still usurping our sovereignty. And we are still a dominated country, a dependent country, and under very retrograde and primitive political system that in the last instance is just a reproduction of the metropolis in the sense of, there is no original thinking, there is no, there is no need or desire to really approach the basic and fundamental problems of our country. And therefore we don't have the power, we don't have the political power to really resolve these problems. So we we're still in prison, and it has been twelve years. and we still believe in the right of self-determination. It would be difficult for us to change that. I mean, we are part of a movement that has a long, long history. It began since the Spanish crown, and it will continue.

Q: And what are you doing right now? You're within the system. Are you able to effect a change there?

EE: Oh, you mean the prison system?

Q: Yes.

EE: Well, how can I know this? I mean, it would be only by the signs that I can read. I can tell that, political prisoners, I mean everywhere, it doesn't matter where, they always affect the external events. In our case, though the number of (Puerto Rican) political prisoners in the United States prisons would be considered very small comparing it to, let's say, other more populated countries, bigger countries than our country. Still, we have a very

strong influence in the movement, in the morals of the movement. Also in the way that we are able to participate in the debate, in the way that we are able to express ourselves through other media, through art, through articles, and other ways of expression where you don't have to be outside, necessarily. Or, because of the way we have been treated in prison, the different cases of violation of our rights, and the repression and the very special way we are treated. It goes to the public outside, through the people who are working with us. So I would say that we have a very significant influence in the moment. And right now, probably the interest that we have, is growing. It's very difficult to measure all these things. But basically, when you have people in prison, they become not only a symbol for the people outside, an inspiration, because of the resistance and because of the, everybody knows that, in other words, what I am trying to say is that to be in prison is like, not the last step, because the last step is probably death, but it's like being in the worst conditions that you can be when you are standing by principle, and therefore, we, though in a sense we are very invisible, in another sense we are very visible. Even though our images go to the outside only through photographs or through the word, our visibility is basically something that is maybe a little stronger than the physical visibility that other people have when they're not in a captive or in a place of isolation like this.

Q: Do people tend to think of you as a martyr for the cause?

EE: Do I think of myself as a martyr?

Q: Yes.

EE: Well not really. You know the thing about this is that I think martyrdom is not something that you necessarily elect, though there are cases in history where people have

seen martyrdom as a way of taking, of doing a duty. I think that martyrdom, when it comes to political cases, is something that happens to a subject, something that happens to individuals because of their action, because of their standing, and because of their thinking. So, it is, of course, undeniable, that people who are in prison and who have been resisting, and who have been in prison for so long, in our case, in the Puerto Rican independence movement, you have people who were in prison for 25 years, for 30 years, in U.S. prisons and they become martyrs in the sense that they were martyred, not because they wanted to see themselves as martyrs. I don't think that in our case, I mean I'm speaking for myself, but probably I'm speaking for everybody, that we have no desire of being martyrs. It doesn't matter the different ways or outlooks that we have, because there are different outlooks in every collective, and it's not healthy to see we all have the same outlook, a monolithic outlook, but even with the differences, what I can tell you is that we have been victimized by the system, do not claim to be victims, because we are consciously taking our position, we consciously know the consequences of this stance. And therefore, in order to live, in order to be able to cultivate freedom and the independence of the individual but who at the same time belongs to a movement, like the independence movement, we have to overcome all kinds of stigmatization and probably self-image, of seeing ourselves as someone who will be or pass to history because we suffer through our bodies the repression or the abuse of Power. Of course, it doesn't matter how we see ourselves. The objective reality could be that we are seen as martyrs, and maybe we are people who go through processes of that kind. But I don't think that is



something that we, this is not our purpose. We don't that the goal is that. We think that this is a very active and very self-conscious and very chosen activity. What we want to be seen as is people who are fighting for a basic right of any people, which is the right to be independent and the right to have self decisions and to be a mature country like, in every individual also, there comes a time, when you have to be taking your affairs and your business into your own hands, and you cannot depend on other people to do it for you, or at least to claim that they are doing it for you. So in that sense, I think that what we are trying to reach for is to be mature people who know the decisions they are taking and the consequences, and they are responsible, and I think that, in that sense, we have consciousness of what we are doing. So I don't know if this answers your question. But the thing is that we are fighting. We keep fighting. We keep the struggle from here. In whatever way we can do it, we will do it, and we express it, and I'm here, doing it now, right now.

Q: Do you have much contact with the other people you were jailed with?

EE: Excuse me?

Q: Are you still able to keep in contact with the other people that you were jailed with eleven years ago?

EE: You mean with the other people in prison?

Q: Yes.

EE: Well, I'm not in contact. We don't write to each other. There are some of them who are married, and they have been able to write to each other. The only thing that we have is that as codefendants, we have some rights. I don't know exactly what rights, but we have some rights about some kind of communication, some kind of discussing our case, but it has always been very difficult to do it because we are so separated. We are

very, very far away from each other. And even when we were in our trial, we were separated. So it was very difficult, even if we wanted to defend ourselves, to prepare our case. But at this point, there are three of the prisoners in the same prison, for example. The women are all in one prison in California. I am by myself here. So, in general, we maintain some knowledge of what is happening to each other, but we don't have any direct communication. And of course, we are considered very high risk security cases, so they take their precautions in order to make this the way it is.

Q: Right. I know there was just a censorship art exhibit that was passing through Chicago. This is actually where I first heard about you. Do you find that you have a lot of supporters from different areas? Because there are a lot of people interested in your case, and others like

you here in Chicago, listening.

EE: Ok, you say there are a lot of people who support?

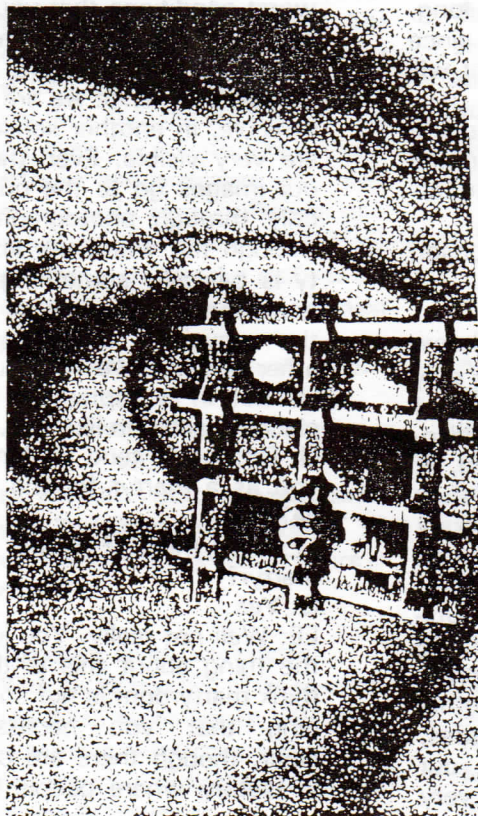
Q: That I know support your stance, and also the freedom

of art. I understand that you were moved to a prison where you weren't allowed to paint and that they didn't have the facilities to...

EE: Right

Q: Was this a political movement by basically the U.S. government to keep you silenced?

EE: Well, that happened in 1986, and I was moved to this prison. And when I came to this prison, there was not a real place to paint. The only place where people could paint was in the unit. And then they changed that. And, well, there was a whole situation where there were people in the prison telling me that I could not paint and they were telling people on the outside that I could paint. So basically I was not able to paint anywhere. And they promised that they would make space for painting later on. So it took a year for that. And if that was a political manoeuvre by the government, I would say that the way we interpret it, it was like that, because there was no other reason, I didn't have any disciplinary problem in the other prison. And the reason that they gave us for the transfer was that is was because of 'security reasons'-- they use that for everything-- so it was 'security reasons', and the second one was because this prison was better for my educational program, or something like that, which was basically not true because of the situation that there was no place to paint, and there was no other thing that they could offer me. So I think that in these cases, that the structures are all so prepared, that sometimes, even though some people at some levels don't know what they are doing, and they could be at very high levels, that the whole system, the whole structure, is prepared to do these things, to punish you whenever they need to. And it happens sometimes so naturally that it's





very difficult to prove it. So they can deny it and deny it and deny it. But we think that it happened at a moment when this exhibit was going to take place, and it was visible, and I don't see any other reasons why they would like to move me at that time, especially at that time, and then why I came here and I couldn't paint for all this time. So that was our interpretation and our conclusion. Of course, they deny it, and they will always deny it. They will never say that they are doing something like that, because it's basically not good politics to say that.

Q: Can you paint now?

EE: To us that was the thing.

Q: Are you able to paint now?

EE: Yes, yes.

Q: I was wondering how being in prison has effected your art, whether it's changed it? Do you use it to liberate yourself in spirit? How do you use art in your life now? Do you use it as a liberation in your mind?

EE: I'm sorry, I couldn't hear you.

Q: Right now, while you're painting, does your art, do

you use it to liberate yourself, or to express yourself to others outside of the prison system. or how has prison affected your art work in general?

EE: Ok, how does the prison conditions affect my art?

Q: Yes.

EE: Like the content of my art?

Q: Yes.

EE: Or everything in my art?

Q: Everything. I find the recurring theme of the crowns and the fish in your paintings from earlier. Could you tell us about that, and do you still incorporate this images?

EE: Ok, I heard the image of the fish, but the other one I couldn't understand what you said.

Q: The crown.

EE: The clown?

Q: Crown, like on your head, the crown, like a king's crown.

EE: Oh, you mean like horns?

Q: Right.

EE: Right. Well, ok, in general, the conditions of wherever you work, conditions are going to be the main, I mean, it will affect your work, especially when conditions are so,

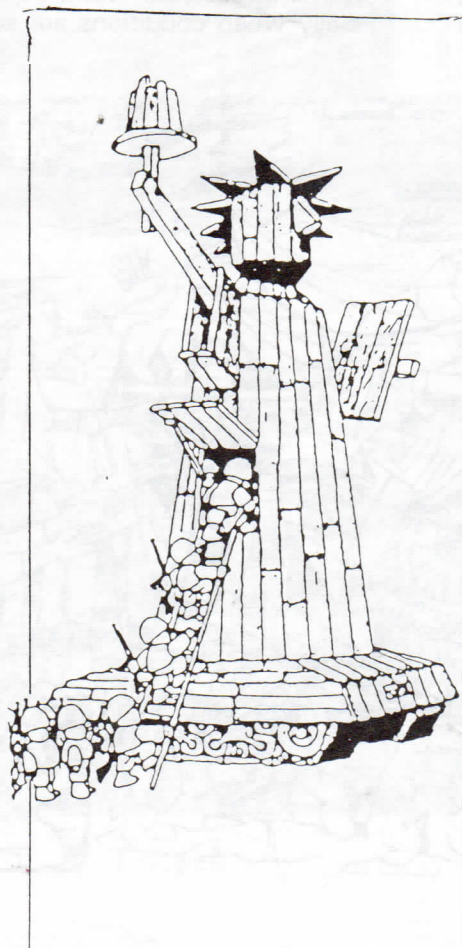
have a very heavy weight in your life. So, yes, my art has in some ways been affected, and in other ways it has not been affected. But the color, for example, it has been changing since I was in New York City. When I moved from Puerto Rico to New York City, for some reason, I don't know, it could be ideological, really, an effect from the environment, but the color became more grayish. The color became more monochromatic. In Puerto Rico, the colors were more alive. Maybe it has something to do with that. But I know some painters in the United States or in New York City who use very bright color. So for them, the effect is very different than to me. So that's why I say I don't know if this is a very personal thing or a very objective thing that happens to everybody. But anyway, there is an interrelation between those two things. When I started doing my sentence in 1980, I think that the gray, monochromatic background that I was using, became, or has become, through the years, darker. So





I don't know if it has to do with the situation, but also it has to do with the technique that have been using. So something that was caused by the conditions can become something that you later elect as a way of expressing better what you have to say or the way you want to approach the media. In the way of the process, it has affected me in other ways, because I have to work very fast, because the conditions in here are that you cannot paint whenever you want to paint. You have to paint when the place is available to paint. And then there is the situation that you never know what is going to happen, and you have to go, and you have to leave this place, or you have to be some other place, so the tension is very, very high. So I have developed a way of painting that has to do with that, with this tension, so I paint very fast, and sometimes with the anxiety that I don't know if I am going to be able to finish a painting, because I don't know if I am going to be here or where. So that also affects the final product and the way the paintings are developed. But also, I have been painting with acrylics since I have been in prison, and acrylics dry very fast. There are other processes where you can retard the drying process, but basically, it's a medium that, you have to work fast with it. So now, again, I have been using oils the last year or two. The process that I have with acrylics is also applied to the oils, so I have developed some kind of technique that I can paint very fast and use oils like acrylics, but with the advantage of oils. In terms of images that I use, the fish is an image that I used before but not with the intensity and not as much as I used it in prison. I think it has many, many, many explanations. But I think that one important reason is that the fish has a form that I identify with and that I can use it in art. I mean,

it's not like an elephant, which would be kind of difficult to deal with in certain compositions. So the fish, in the sense of the form that it has, allows me to work in a way that I can really use it, not just because it's a fish, but because it's a form that I can use. I know that for some people this has different connotations. Some people see it with religious connotations. Other people see like political connotations, in the sense of the freedom of the fish or whatever. But I think that in here, also, you have to express certain things in a less direct way, because of the censorship that varies. And because some functionaries in different prisons don't have the same open view of art that others have. So you have to really be, you have to decide what you want to do. Also because I don't see art as propaganda tool. I see art as a more wide way of ambivalence and a symbolic exchange; in that sense the fish for me can be something like that. I have developed some



symbols that sometimes have a more specific meaning depending on the context. And sometimes it's just, you cannot codify it to the extent that you can say it means this or it means that. But lately I haven't been using the fish that much. I'm more into the human figure.

Q: And what about the human figures with the horns on their heads?

EE: Well, that has to do with the character of the vejigante, which is part of the folklore in Puerto Rico. Many other Latin American countries have similar characters. It's basically something that comes from the tradition of popular rites that were not accepted in the church, in the Catholic church. They also have the carnival aspect of it. Basically they represent, dating from mythology... Like in Cuba, the same characters are called diablitos, which means 'little devils'. Of course there is also that playing around with what for many people is considered to be evil. It becomes something that you can relate to an answer to repression and censorship. So in that sense, what is evil in one context becomes something that is not evil, that is something that you can consider to be representative of the repression of the desires of the people.', you know, the collective unconscious. In that sense, something that was looked at as negative, pejorative, it becomes something that is identified with the people. What you see there is those horns from that character, but transformed in order to overcome the folcloric character that it usually has. And I try to use it in a more philosophical way, more representative of our own, of the collective members of the culture, etc. I have used it very, very freely.

Q: Who do you try to reach with your art? Is it more of personal thing, where you're just expressing yourself for your own pleasure, or do you paint for a specific audience?



EE: Ok, you say that if I do my art for my own pleasure?

Q: Yes, do you do it just for yourself, or do you have another group in mind when you paint, that you want them to see your work?

EE: Oh, ok. Well, I think that if, well, there are people who do things just to please other people. And certainly they don't see the activity as something where they have any pleasure, because probably it becomes a commodity, it becomes just a product, and a mechanical activity. You know, it's just a manual activity. But I think that any serious, honest artist has to have some pleasure in what he or she does. It's not just pleasure. It's a relationship between pleasure and pain. So in that sense, when you approach an activity like art, in a very passionate way, it's like you pass all these things through your body, and you have to feel them and you have to admit it in your body in the same way that other experiences that come into your life, you have to also be able to allow them to come out. So it's that kind of relationship between what affects you and what then comes out from you. So in that sense, I paint in the sense that I don't want to feel like I want to please any specific people. I think that I am trying to discover certain things, and I allow them to come out. And if they don't become pleasurable to a specific number of people, that's a different problem. You see, because even when you, if you try to do something that the objective is to please other people, sometimes it becomes the reverse. Sometimes people become offended. And sometimes people don't even realize what is going on. So in that sense, I think that I am not that, I would say that there is, of course, a way that you as an individual, when you have relations with other people, that unconsciously you are using certain techni-

ques and certain mechanisms where you want to be accepted by the other people. And I think sometimes we cannot even realize that, and that's a possibility. But in the main, mainly, I try to liberate myself from those things. I try to do what I want to do, what I think is a product of my social experience and my individual experience. And I don't like to reproduce my political beliefs in my paintings, in the sense of... I can make a discourse about the independence of Puerto Rico or about freedom, and then I can illustrate that in a painting. But I don't think that's my purpose. What I am going to say through art is different, you see. It deals with something different. It's more complex, and sometimes it's more direct, even though it seems like a contradiction. So, they are different praxes, and they have their own different means and purposes.

Q: We only have a little more time. Is there any..

EE: What time do we finish?

Q: We only have about five more minutes. Is there any way that people could get in contact with you or an organization to find out more about your work?

EE: If there is any way that people can contact me?

Q: Yes.

EE: Well, I don't know if you have my address with you, but certainly people can write to me. The address is Elizam Escobar. The register number is 88969-024, Box 1500, Colorado Two, El Reno, OK 73036. Or there are other addresses, but I don't have them with me. Do you know about the gallery where the exhibit is taking place in Chicago?

Q: No, I'd have to research that up.

EE: Well, I don't have it. I'm sorry.

Q: Well, is there anything else that you'd like to add?

EE: Well, I'd just like to, I want to thank for inviting me to your program.

Q: I want to thank you for joining us here on WZRD. I'd like to follow up at some point, if that's possible.

EE: Ok. Well, I think that we can. Mr. Herman, I think I talked to him before, he will know how to get in contact. You are welcome. Whatever I can do, or any other participation, you are welcome.

Q: Thank you once again for coming on the show.

EE: Ok. Right?

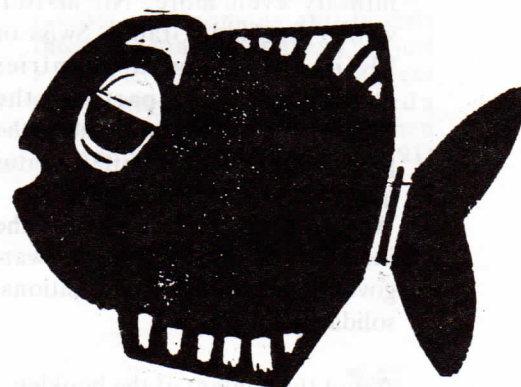
Q: Yes.

EE: Ok. Thank you.

Q: Bye bye.

EE: Bye.

In the interview, Elizam Escobar refers to 'Subversive axe: Myths and Truths of the Apocalypses,' a collective exhibit in which he participated at the Near Northwest Arts Council Gallery, September-October, 1991. At the time of the interview he was also in a collective exhibit in San Juan, Puerto Rico, Exposicion Imagen de Albizu Campos 111, and was about to open a solo exhibit in San Juan, 'Albizu en la Princesa, an homage by Elizam Escobar.' At the same time, a book he was involved in conceiving and contributing to was published, *Disparities and Connections: The Excluded on Postmodernism* (available from Axe St. Arena, c/o 1909 N. Albany, Chicago, IL 60647), an anthology by artists and writers from several countries working outside the mainstream or within the periphery of dominant culture and politics.





# SERFIRAZKIN - WE WILL WIN !

## Reports and interviews towards the kurdish liberation struggle,

compiled by members of a delegation-journey in august 1991 to the MAHSUM - KORMAZ - ACADEMY (military and political training-camp of PKK, workers-party of Kurdistan, and ARGK, national liberation-army of Kurdistan). Published to mark the 13th anniversary of PKKs foundation by: Arbeitskreis Internationalism Bonn (FRG), Initiative Internationale Solidarität Bremen (FRG, Freunde und Freundinnen des kurdischen Volkes Gießen (FRG), Kurdistan-Solidarität Nürnberg (FRG).

Order adress: Freunde und Freundinnen des kurdischen Volkes Gießen, c/o Buchladen Kleine Freiheit, Bismarkstr. 9, 6300 Gießen (FRG), Price: 7 DM (for resellers 30 % discount)

For the moment this booklet appears only in german but soon will be translated into english and turkish.

This booklet is a good basis to get clooser to PKKs struggle. In face of the rapid developments in Middle East and the rise of the struggle in Kurdistan for us as european Left, it is important to develop a definite point of view towards this struggle. In 1992 a war government will be established by PKK in Botan/Behdinan, the heard of Kurdistan. This will unavoidable lead to increasing military confrontation with the turkish army and the NATO partner countries will (must) support Turkey politically, economically and military even more. No matter, wether England, Grance, Swiss or FRG, all european countries contribute their part to the suppression of the Kurds and to the preservation of the exploitativ status quo in Middle East.

We are demanded to support the installation of the kurdish war-government with our international solidarity.

About the content of the booklet: 9 women and men of different german solidarity groups with the liberation-struggle of the kurdish

people have been invited to visit the Mahsum-Korkmaz-academy of PKK and ARGK for the 15. august 1991, the resumption of the armed struggle for an independent and demo-cratic Kurdistans 7th anniversary.

In their preface the publishers describe their jounrey as a very important experience: "The journey has given us a very deep understanding of the kurdish liberation-struggles reality. It showed us the political and social extend of this resistance whose importance goes far beyond an independent and self-determined Kurdistan. Their re-sistance is a struggle for humanity."

In the booklet the fighting and sympathizing women and men themselves/themselves get a chance to speak. The main part of the contributions are interviews: with women in the icademy (90 of the 500 trainees in the academy were women), with a PKK-commander about the gigantic dam-project of the turkish state GAP, there are two interviews with the PKKs secretary general, Abdullah Öcalan. One is concerning questions of international solidarity, the political developments in Middle East and PKKs future and the other is about the womens role in the party. In this second discussion concerning the women Abdullah Öcalan made very interesting remarks on questions concerning the relationships between women and men: "It is to be seen how far human being has developed by how far the relationships between women and men are connected to the social and political reality. If the relationships on the social, political or indeed on the level of struggle are strong, then the human relationships are strong as well."

Besides in the booklet else there are discussions with member os the liberty-party of Kurdistan, PAK, who is activ in the part of Kurdistan that

is occupied by Iraq; with people of a production-center of PKK; a report about a trial in the academy and about a short-trip through south-west Kurdistan that followed the visit of the academy.

Inside the booklet there is also a discussion with a theater-, dance and music group, who reports about their work and how they see their work in connection with the kurdish revolution.

In an appendix there are extracts of a speech by Abdullah Öcalan to mark the 15. august 1991, it gives an overview about contact adresses of Kurdistan-solidarity-groups in Europe and else gives the delegation-journeys members impres-sions of the journey.

For example in one passage it is said: "As we arrived in the academy it was told to us: 'Here you are free' and 'There is no program prepared for you, do this for yourselves!' This expresses an under-standing to me the Left in the capitalistic centers is still far away from. We were accepted as political people, not without contradictions but with the basis for a common discussion. And this bases on a mutual understanding of the different situations the kurdish women and men and we are living in."

In an other contribution it is said: "After our return from the academy it has become very clear to me how inadequate our political work is and how big our possibilities are to do it better! Especially in the present political situation, in which the revolutionary and socialistic worthes should become destroyed morally and materialy, we have a big responsibility. We have good friends in other countries who are waging actively the struggle for liberation and from who we can learn a lot. ...if we can really learn from the collected worldwide revolutionary experiences - what can be able to stop us! We have to push forward the revolutionary organizing in our own country!"



# A CONVERSATION WITH PAK



## Development of a revolutionary democracy

On April 1st of 1991 the founding-declaration of Partiya Azadiya Kurdistan, the Kurdish Freedom Party, was published. With this a further meaningful step was made in the struggle for the independence and freedom of the Kurdish people. For the first time the people organise themselves within the Iraqi occupied South of Kurdistan on the line of the PKK for a democratic, free and independant Kurdistan against feudalism, colonialism and imperialism.

This struggle by the PKK has driven the Turkish colonialism in Northwestern Kurdistan into a dead-end, by their massive guerilla-activities, which are tied closely with uprisings of large numbers of people and which now also blew away the colonial borders.

In the South of Kurdistan the situation was characterized in that, that the people were patriotic and prepared to fight for their rights, but the command was in the hands of feudal and petty bourgeois representatives, whose leading exponents are Barzani and Talabani.

These traditional leaders have never raised the demand for independancy, which obtains for the Kurdish people the only possibility to actually take its destiny into its own hands, but have only demanded autonomy within the colonial borders. The struggle for the independance of Kurdistan does in no way fit within their interests, because as is becoming clear nowadays, with that their leading role collapses. The demand for autonomy had as result that the iraqi colonialists now and again conceded to that, and afterwards made destructive attacks against the Kurdish people again.

At the same time these leaders have never placed confidence in the strength of the Kurdish people, but have, in order to put through their demand for autonomy, made close strategic alliances with other regional and imperialist powers in the hope that these would act as "guarantee forces" against the iraqi colonialism. This deep dependancy amongst others expresses itself in the fact that the Peshmerga of the KDP (Democratic Party of Kurdistan - Barzani) and of the PUK (Patriotic Union of Kurdistan - Talabani) were paid and directly bought as mercenary army by the interested powers. By this policy, the people in South Kurdistan became a playing ball for rivalling forces in the Middle East.

As an example can be seen the defeat in 1975 under the leadership of the old Mullah Mustafa Barzani, who had with the help of the Shah-regime in Iran and the support of the CIA "liberated" large parts of South Kurdistan and whose "allies" allowed, after their reconciliation with the Iraqi regime, to bring a devastating defeat onto the Kurdish people with bombardments and mass deportations. The developments in the war between



Iran and Iraq in the 80's were similar. The Kurdish leadership again entered into a strategic alliance with Iran. After the cease-fire the people were again exposed to the horrible destruction by the Iraqi colonialists, of which the most human-despising expression was the poison-gas massacre in Halabja.

### **Nowadays the situation in South Kurdistan has changed fundamentally.**

In the first place the massive deport- and destroy policy of the Saddam regime has caused the smashing of the old feudal structures and has pulled the basis away underneath the traditional leadership. The war at the beginning of '91, which not in the last place had the function of securing the randomly drawn borders in the Middle East, has effectively erased the colonial border between the North and South of Kurdistan. Within this background, the national liberation struggle along the lines of the PKK could develop rapidly in South Kurdistan. Solely on the 15th of August in 4 cities in South Kurdistan, thousands of people followed the calls by the PAK to show their connection with the national liberation struggle of Kurdistan, which was expressed by carrying pictures of the secretary-general of the PKK and of the fallen martyrs of the PKK. In the Mahzum-Korkmaz-Academy we had the opportunity to speak with friends out of the PAK, who were there for education. Partly, they had been organized before in the KDP or the PUK.. Here follows a summary of our conversation:

After the massacre in Halabja in March 1988 many people fled from their houses in South Kurdistan. Others were deported from their villages into the cities. No village was left out. Then, Saddam stationed his army in the cities, to prevent any movement among the population. Only in the cities there was life left, but that was worse than in prison. It was not possible either to move oneself in the mountains, villages nor the cities. This drove

the people into a hatred against Saddam and the Barzani and Talabani leadership, but it could not find a way out. There was a short-lived movement, that scientifically approached the Kurdish question, but it was not anchored and stayed isolated. In the years 1984-1985 these people came under the influence of the PKK, but after the attacks by the KDP in '85 (against the PKK) they retreated and remained sympathisers; no real relationships had been created. Amongst students there arose discussions, first to find a way out of the impasse, and later on if the PKK could offer a solution. After Halabja which meant the end of the liberated Kurdish territory and with the developments in Northwestern Kurdistan in 1989 it became possible for the people in South-Kurdistan to directly contact the PKK. In the mountains many people began to rank in the lines of the PKK. Some of them coming from East-Kurdistan (the Iranian occupied part) and others out from the cities in the South of Kurdistan, as well as from Iraq itself. During the time of the spring-uprising after the Gulf-war the possibilities arose to organise the people. This wasn't sufficient however, because of the existence of a political vacuum. We didn't have the power to fill the gap. The other organisations, the KDP and the PUK, moved among the people with the help of the allied forces, who counted on them. These organisations kidnapped some of our people with the aim of killing them. But with the help of the people we were able to prevent this. We were organized amongst the people, but not yet well-known enough. In our propaganda we revealed the character of the KDP and the PUK and we warned the people that it would come to further massacres. After the striking-down of the spring-uprising the people began to see the accuracy of our analyses. Along the border and with the support of the PKK we undertook many actions among the people. Those were the people who had fled out of the cities and away from Saddams troops. Iraq and Turkey had the plan to exterminate

the Kurdish people but because of the strong presence of the PKK in the border region they didn't dare to try something. The people had found a way out of the impasse together with the PAK and began to organise amongst themselves. With the help of the PKK we began to make preparations for a conference and had it in the spring of 1991 in the mountains of Kurdistan. This changed a lot: with the formal declaration of our party we began to work systematically from Kirkuk to up into the mountains. At this moment everywhere in Kurdistan we have combat units of the guerilla and the mountain region is our hands. We are strongly developing in the mountains. Barzani and Talabani see they are loosing the support of the people and try to provoke and set up dangerous games. They are shooting at the allied forces and try to blame the PAK or the PKK for it.

### **We don't want a military confrontation with the allied forces nor with the KDP or the PUK; we want to beat Barzani and Talabani with political means.**

Let me give you a present-day example of the situation. In Sacho and Sulemaniya the other organisations tried to captivate our people. In Sacho they succeeded in doing this, but the people stormed their offices and at this moment Barzani's offices in Sacho and Kirkuk are closed. You might have heard that a few Iraqi soldiers were captivated. We did this. The KDP complained about this event, that it occurred while they were negotiating with Saddam and that the PKK was a foreign power. Because of this the people attacked the offices of the KDP in Arbil and Sulemaniya and closed them. We had to prevent it from becoming a massacre. Nowadays there is a large potential for us, and that especially after the Turkish military attack over the border while chasing the PKK, and after the new uprisings in Dohuk and other places. These are the first political uprisings in South-Kurdistan. Because we have the support of the PKK in the North it's



possible to develop quicker in the South. We want to create a liberated zone. The Turkish attack (in August 1991) has opened the way to new developments. It was a victory for the PKK and the PAK. The Turkish army wasn't in the position to split the North of Kurdistan from the West. Practically spoken there is no more border. The conditions have ripened to create a joint government. In the coming days you will be witnesses of our intentions.

?: In what perspective do you see the role of the allied forces in the region?

!: We see the March-uprisings in this way that they should have been a provocation as to push the people in the arms of the KDP/PUK. After the uprisings were convincingly suppressed, the KDP and the PUK proved to be insufficient forces which were not in the position to protect the people. We, the PAK and the people, know that the forces of the "floating hammer" operation are not here to protect the people, but instead of this, to provoke it. F.e. the "hammer units" provoked the people to the statement "we don't want you to go". The KDP/PUK also tried to lead the people to demand this- to call upon the allied forces to stay. These allied forces have three aims. 1. To keep Barzani and Talabani in position. 2. To destroy the national liberation struggle in North-West - Kurdistan and 3. to create a safety-zone which can be used against all peoples in the middle-east. The Kurdish people have had to endure many sufferings. It had enough experiences in fighting and gives an example of patriotism. It has been provoked and disappointed very often. The massacres of the spring-uprisings were horrible, the people were confronted with corpses all over. They needed help, a way out. As the allied forces entered the area the people knew that they were not

their liberators but they also understood that they were bound to them if they wanted to survive. In North-West Kurdistan there is a different situation. The people there know that Turkey is a member of the NATO and that the allied forces are the NATO. As a consequence they don't want to have anything to do with them. That's why the allied forces say: "The people of South-Kurdistan love us, but the people of the North don't". Since the youngest developments however the consciousness of the people of the South is awakening. Lots of situations have showed that the allied are not really against Saddam, although it has looked like that some time.

?: Can you say something about the position of Israel in connection with South-Kurdistan and the PAK?

!: Although Israel doesn't work openly with the allied forces it does so in a hidden way. It's clear that it won't attack openly and when it does, it will be through the allied forces. It's our goal to organise the people of South-Kurdistan, to create a liberated zone and to fight against the Turkish republic, but if Saddam should attack us we will strike back. No army is able to destroy us because we have a large area at our disposal for our manoeuvres. The Turkish raid has clearly showed this. It was the most important defeat in the history of the republic, although not even all our forces were involved in this





operation and just a few belonging to the PKK. And according to the information we have, over 500 Turkish soldiers were killed. And now the Turkish general Tolon declared that it had not been a purpose to eliminate the PKK-forces, but to show that the Turkish forces are capable of undertaking such operations at any moment. We believe we will have the solidarity of humanity, who don't want to sit back and watch how the Kurdish people are massacred.

?: How heavy were the losses of the civil population as a result of the raid by the Turkish forces?

!: In the region of Saho we counted the number of more than 200 killed civilians. Other detailed numbers published by the KDP were brought down and false. The said it was a war and in a war there are sacrifices amongst the population. By saying so they gave an excuse to the Turkish state.

?: In Cuba, Vietnam and El Salvador the revolution was build-up by the peoples-committees. Do you have such committees at your disposal?

!: Yes, and the PKK has them as well. We have the goal of constructing a provisional military government and the

**development of a revolutionary democracy, in which people can organise themselves politically, economically and logistically,** and by doing so supporting the liberation struggle. In 1989 the PKK carried out a campaign concerning this political line as to create a larger base for the attaining of the aspired goals.

?: Are there contradiction between Barzani and Talabani which you could use for yourselves?

!: There are contradictions between these organisations, the KDP and the PUK. The KDP is totally reactionary. Concerning the PUK we deal politically with them by trying to discuss with them politically. They are the ideological representatives of the petty-bourgeois, but in practice they are not able to organise them.

?: What is the situation of Saddam's forces in South-Kurdistan?

!: They are present, but not powerful. They don't have connections with the people and don't move away from their bases. They wanted to interfere in the youngest uprising in Sulamaniya, Saho and so on, but they didn't dare to.

?: Why are the PAK and the PKK not joining each other, to create one single party?

!: Concerning the leadership and the ideology we are one. Abdullah Öcalan is our national leader and teacher. But there are social differences because South-Kurdistan is under the reign of an Arabic government and North-West Kurdistan under the Turkish republic. Besides this there are international and regional differences and conditions which speak against the expansion of the PKK to South-Kurdistan. That's why we have founded the PAK. Of course the PKK is playing an important role to us, when looking at the ideology and practice. Besides we aren't only fighting in South-Kurdistan, members of the PAK are in North-West Kurdistan to gather experiences made in the guerilla war. We also instruct one another. The KDP/PUK accuses us of being the PKK, which isn't true, we are two different organisations.

Two members of "Friends of the Kurdish people", Hamburg (FRG)

This article is taken from: "serfirazkin" - "We shall overcome", reports and interviews concerning the Kurdish liberation struggle.





# INTERVIEW WITH GRUP YORUM

**GRUP YORUM is a revolutionary music band from Turkey who played last year in several european cities**

**Question:** Your group was founded in 1984. At that time people in your country were faced with brutal repression and the political situation was difficult. Alienated cultural worthies from the western imperialist countries overran your land. Especially young people were confronted with massive disorientation and were pushed towards the western consumer society.

Can you please describe how cultural life changed in Turkey after the coup of 12th September? Which measures were taken by the junta to alienate people from their traditions?

**Grup Yorum:** The coup in 1980 was the result of a hopeless situation of the ruling classes. When there is no solution for a crisis, when the democratic consciousness of the people grows, then repression onto the workers, the servants and the students grows. Every ten years there has been a new junta which came into power. The influence of the 12th September-coup still exists today and has effect on the political, social and cultural life. Cultural repression tries to destroy the long fostered worthies of the people. In favour of a cosmopolitan culture which is unpolitical, degenerated and uncritical, these worthies shall be forgotten. Faced with this reality and the hard set-backs against the revolutionary organisations it was not possible to carry on the development of revolutionary struggle between 1980 and 1984. This was also the reason why cultural activities were neglected. Like the language culture is also a living thing and has to be cared for.

Our culture is very rich, it carries the sadness and joy of our people. Only if you are on the side of revolutionary struggle it is possible to keep and teach it to the people. So this is the reason why there was no movement

at that time. Later the activities of revolutionaries grew again in social, artistic and cultural life. Again and again the ruling classes tried to prevent that these activities could reach the people. Remember Yilmaz Güney who kept a revolutionary personality in his film-art. Another one of the few artists who succeeded in this was Ruhi Su (a songwriter). He compared his songs with a travelling bus and said, "Within a song there is everything you put inside." His songs tell the life of the people. They describe the true and living side of the people. Because of this the ruling classes become very restless when people listen to his songs. They cannot cope with it and always they try to hinder that someone studies his songs. They stopped him from going into other countries. His tapes were confiscated, he was watched and persecuted. He was tortured. The same happened to Yilmaz Güney. There have always been efforts to din people with empty culture, to take their culture from them. After 1980 there have been two developments: the revolutionary artists and the petty-bourgeois artists. The group of the petty-bourgeois was not at the side of the revolutionary struggle of intellectuals, workers and servants, they did not endeavour to do the revolution. Their culture has no meaning except for money. Revolutionary artists care about the problems of people, they try to find a practical solution for them. They try to mobilize people. And their work has a meaning.

But after the coup in 1980 there were many artists who did not follow these requirements. Most of them gave up their work and tried to make money one way or another. Many fled abroad without defending their work. But there were also artists like Yilmaz Güney who stayed for a long

time in Turkey, whose work was forbidden, who were watched and arrested. He was one who was active even abroad. Many artists were forced to leave the country. Still new artists came up, resolute and optimistic people, who did not give in repressions.

After 1980 the young generation was badly influenced. They look towards the West, listened to western music. Many of the young people forgot our culture, folklore and songs.

Also important was the effort to assimilate the kurdish people, the kurdish language was forbidden. The ruling classes tried to break the kurdish culture and decades of kurdish resistance. If there wouldn't have been this repression and policy of assimilation we could have exchanged our culture and worked together.

Not only the artists are personally responsible for the situation after 1980, but also the whole revolutionary attitude. They made the following mistakes: after the coup in 1980 they either gave up their revolutionary work or people fled abroad. It was not possible for the artists to build up a culture of resistance in their own country and many perished. We do not know of any artist in Turkey who tried to continue his cultural work in a revolutionary, dynamic and organised way. There were no organised artists. Single persons like Yilmaz Güney or very small groups tried to work in this sense until 1980. But after 1980 they were strongly influenced by the petty-bourgeois artists because they were not organised. Never they were part of class-struggle but developed their work outside of it. The time after 1980 was a defeat for them and they became more and more pessimistic. Not belonging to an organisation they did not even try to carry on with their



work after 1980 and they became victims of their pessimism and passivity. Ruhi Su was a positive exception. he continued his struggle until 1985, but his life was not long enough, and under the conditions of fascism it was also for Yilmaz Güney impossible to forward his films to the people. A long time they were prohibited. It is only since lately that they are shown once and again.

**Question:** Is it a problem for your work that young people listen more to western music?

**Grup Yorum:** Well, our music is not only for young people, this is not what we want. We want to reach the masses everywhere: workers, servants, employees, shopkeepers, pupils and students. We try for this with the messages of our songs and concerts. This is difficult because many institutions are closed for us. Programmes with our songs are prohibited in radio and on television, they also prohibit our concerts. Sometimes even our cassettes are confiscated. Because of this it is difficult to reach many young people or other parts of the society. But in the big cities, like Istanbul the dynamic youth, pupils, students, forward-looking people are very interested in our work.

**Question:** How was it possible to found the group at that time? What initiated this step, what gave you the strength? Who joined the group, from which classes did they come?

**Grup Yorum:** Up til 1984 there was no struggle because the coup was successful. In 1984 there was a strong resistance inside the prisons, hunger-strikes, death-fasting, there was resistance against the uniforms in the prisons. At the same time people outside the prisons struggled to build up democratic mass-organisations. An academic-democratic struggle had been started by the revolutionary youth and continues until today. At that time four friends were students at the Marmara-University in Istanbul. They came together to play music. First they started playing music for theatre but soon they

became quite professional and also came closer to the revolutionary struggle. It was impossible for them to ignore this struggle any longer. They tried to clear the situation for themselves. The position of the ruling classes made it clear to them: either your culture and policy belongs to those in power or you fight and work at the side of the revolutionaries. Living in this climate they decided to become part of the revolutionary struggle.

**Question:** The resistance in the prisons encouraged people to organise themselves?

**Grup Yorum:** During the first years attention was not so much centred on organisation, they organised solidarity-meetings and worked to support the prisoners who were on

hungerstrike. But the faster a process develops the clearer one can see. In such a situation you realize that you need an organisation. Without an organised attitude they would never have been able to work in such a collective way. They would have become careerists only thinking of money, far away from the people. But they understood by their own experiences, that without an organisation they would not get anywhere and today they are at the side of the people, make their songs in this sense.

There is one question which many people ask, "Where are those who played on your first tapes? We do not see them anymore." I want to explain this. The more intensive the struggle gets, the more you have to bring yourself into it. You have to withstand and fight arresting. And

Gelki safaklar tutssun  
Come with the break of dawn  
Music: Grup Yorum  
Text: Adnan Yücel

Come from the darkness of night  
Come with the break of dawn  
With daylight, with blood and  
gunpowder, come  
Come with the resistance  
Come with the hate

Come with the strong grounds  
And when the rain returns to wild  
streaming waters  
Come with the dreams  
Come with love  
When we start our struggle  
Come, love, come

Come from the cities  
Come from the fields  
When the squares get crowded  
Come from the fields  
When the dungeons chains cry out  
Come, laughter, come

Come to chase away darkness  
Come to rise break of dawn  
At least with all our efforts  
With all our strength at least.



of course there are people among us who are not strong enough, who specialize in an artistic way. They leave after some time. But as long as we think of organized struggle, our artistic struggle will continue. We can say that our struggle is like a railway line, the struggling people are like travellers: there are always stations where people want to get out, where they do get out. These are friends who are not strong enough for our struggle, who cannot cope with it any longer. Those who stay until the end of the line are those who never separated from the organized connections.

**Question:** You mean from those, who started the work of the group none is with you today?

**Grup Yorum:** There is one person, he could not come here because the turkish authorities refuse to give him a passport, but we want to emphasize one thing: those, who founded the group are not important. Grup Yorum belongs to everyone, Grup Yorum belongs to the people. This is our opinion, single persons from the group are not important. Important are those, who have this opinion and work for this actively.

**Question:** In the Ortaköy Kültür Merkezi, OKM (which means: Cultural Centre of Ortaköy, Ortaköy is a part of Istanbul) you work together with several music- and theatre groups. What was the idea for this cultural centre? How do you work there?

**Grup Yorum:** When we first talked about the foundation of the group in 1985/86, we told you that it was meant to oppose the coup of the 12th of September, to oppose the cosmopolitan position which was forced onto the people by the imperialists, to oppose alienated and degenerated culture. And this is, what the groups want, who work in the OKM: the theatre-, music-, photographic- and painting-groups. In every part of art we try to develop an alternative with the work in our cultural centre. We want to build up a new culture, a socialist culture, we want to educate socialist people. In 1989 the OKM was shut down by the state for one month, because people shouted political slogans during a meeting there. 60 people were arrested. They threatened us, "We won't give you a chance to survive" they said. They did not want the OKM to develop its work, to exist. On the 3rd of October 1991 again ten people from the OKM were arrested for a day, this time without a special reason. They shut the OKM down for a week. They had announced that they would disturb our work, that they would persecute us. Even when the OKM is opened, a policeman stands in front of the door, watching the people, who go in. So they try to put psychological pressure onto the people, they try to prevent them from going in.

**Question:** Can you tell us what happened on the 3rd of October?

**Grup Yorum:** We were just working on a film and had nearly finished our work when some men came in and tried to chase people out. When we were in the arcade downstairs policemen came and searched our pockets. They arrested us immediately, one of us was tortured and threatened with death. "If you do not stop your work, it is possible that you might be found dead some place,

Stien I Bjerget

Music and text: Savage Rose

Look the narrow path vanishes in  
the claud  
just were the vallies vanish.  
Comrade, now you have a house  
And Freedom is your bride  
The hopes of the people show you  
the way  
We will march  
Together always  
Against injustice.

Where the winds meet on the  
mountain peak  
Where the storms tear them down  
Where the water run swiftly down  
from the paeks  
Where the moon shines brightly from  
them  
There you will find your comrade  
There you will find men and women  
We will march  
Together always  
Against injustice.

We will meet on the red moorning  
At the break of dawn we will meet  
The last morning we will meet  
At the new morning we will meet  
again, my love  
Freedom, Freedom  
My love follows Freedom  
Moon, Shine brightly for my love  
We will march  
Together always  
Against injustice.



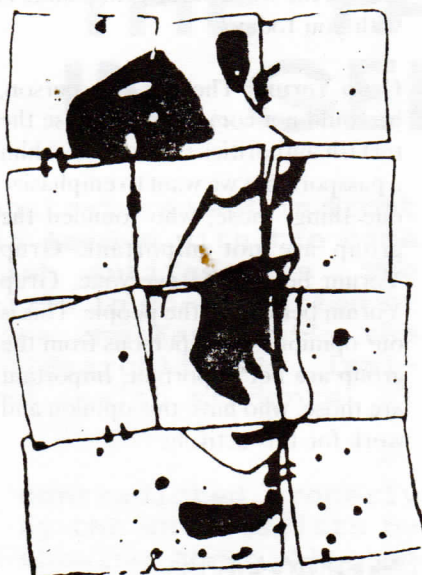
some time," they said. They took our particulars, searched us and confiscated the papers Mucadele and Tavir. They asked, where we did get them and what we were going to do with them (Not. normally it is possible to buy Mucadele on every kiosk in Istanbul - unless a number has been confiscated). They threatened us all the time, took photos and specimen of our handwritings. They looked into our files. You know, we publish Tavir (which means: attitude) from the OKM. Already the first edition was confiscated, it was the first cultural paper which was confiscated after the 12th September-coup. They confiscated it because of a poem justified it with separatistic and communistic propaganda. Later they also confiscated the edition no. 8 and 9 for the same reason.

**Question:** Can you describe how you organize the work in the OKM?

**Grup Yorum:** Well, there is also a group which works with films and photos, it is called FOSEM. They go to the various gecekondus (slums around Istanbul) and show there photos or slides. Often police has confiscated their cameras. Their activities are strongly controlled and often hindered, as is the situation for every group in the OKM. Then there is a theatre-group, the Ortaköy Halk Sineması, OHS (which means: theatre of the people of Ortaköy). It is prohibited for them to appear on stage in any Turkish town.

Early in the morning we open the centre and have breakfast together: Yorum, Tavir, Fosem, OHS and the group Özgürlük Türküsü (which means: Songs of Freedom). At about 10.00 o'clock we start with the cleaning up. If there is a film, we show it - there are 4 film-shows during the day. After cleaning every group works in its room. All the work, which has to be done, is done by all of us: either door-keeper or guard.

We think it is conspicuous that meetings are prohibited only because they take place in the OKM. Concerts of unknown artists are prohibited in the OKM, while it is possible for them to play in other places.



Well, what can you do during the day in the OKM? The days are really lively there, many things happen every day with the pupils, the students, with servants and workers. In the morning we read the papers, we analyse the actual situation. We discuss them and try to find solutions. If there are any workers' activities we go there to show our solidarity. Some months ago we supported a one-day token strike. This is how we think, our attitude. In the production of our centre, in its attitude such activities are very important. In our spontaneous reaction and action people can learn about our political sensibility. For example the nurses are on strike. Then our friends from the OKM-theatregroup write a play, learn it and at the day of the strike they go there to play in the streets.

**Question:** How do you work on your music, your songs? Where do the texts come from, do you write them yourselves? Maybe you can give an example.

**Grup Yorum:** Our songs come out of the class-struggle which is going on in Turkey. During the miners' strike we went to Zonguldak. We were very impressed by the peoples' lives, we wanted to talk about it. So we wrote a song for the coalminers (Maden-ciden). Or the slums, the gecekondus, the people there are being

beaten up by the police or even killed. Their situation has to be told. We make their music!

When Mehmet Dalci was murdered at the 1st of May, we were there, of course we were moved by what had happened and so we wrote a song. Some examples for these songs kind of songs are "We are right and we will win", "Song for Mehmet" (1st of May), "Cemo". What is the story of "Cemo"? In Mersin (1989) we were arrested and kept in prison for two months, but we did not stop our work. We wrote "Cemo" while we were in prison. Of course they thought we would stop writing and singing when we were in prison, they wanted our songs to become silent. The opposite happened, one of our best songs was created there. Also our song "Uprising" (Çagri) was developed there. As they had had taken all our instruments away from us, we made Pan's pipes out of hosepipes. And we still had our voices and so we could continue with our music. We write our songs about things, situations which impress us, which we see. In general we take poems by progressive writers, for example from A. Yücel. And we get poems even from friends of Grup Yorum from other towns, mostly from the prisons.

**Question:** How do songs from other countries affect your music? What is your internationalist responsibility as musicians?

**Grup Yorum:** We were influenced by Inti Illimani for example. But I want to say something generally: the liberation of people will always be written in blood. This blood spreads like waves in the songs and it brings dynamism, enthusiasm against repression. When we study the birth of jazz-music we can learn, that it was an expression of resistance against slavery. The rhythm which was created by work in the fields of the slave-drivers finally expressed the black peoples' hate against the ruling class. And this rhythm brightened up the story which was told. And this happens in different countries. For example Chile, where Inti Illimani come from, since years



there is a people's liberation war going on, thousands of people were killed. And the people stays sensitive, does not give in its struggle. The songs tell us about this struggle.

We have the same situation in our country: the ruling classes try to stay in power by using violence and repression against the people. But there is also another violence, violence which is carried by the people and the revolutionaries. We take our place at the side of the beautiful, of the good and with the idea to build up a new world, we decide to become a part of the struggle. Now we want to explain why repression also aims at us: our songs are prohibited because those in power are afraid of them. Our concerts are prohibited because there we build up relations to the people, we tell them the truth and give messages to them. They confiscate our tapes because they are documents of historic worth, because they tell the story of the working class-people and the repression against them, because they give solutions out of this slavery. And we will continue to be the voice of the people in art and culture.

Because of our point of view we also try to develop the kurdish music as far as it is possible for us. We defend the common liberation struggle of the kurdish and turkish peoples. We think that liberation for all the oppressed people in our region will come through a common struggle. Concerning the music we try to pass forward kurdish culture to the masses. Also we want to do our internationalist duties. Unfortunately it is not possible for us to get in contact with other groups. Were we have contacts, we also try to build up co-operation. When we were in prison in Mersin a group from Denmark (Savage Rose) who played a song (Stien i Bjerget) for our new cassette, as a sign of active international solidarity. If we could, we would also like to play songs for other groups.

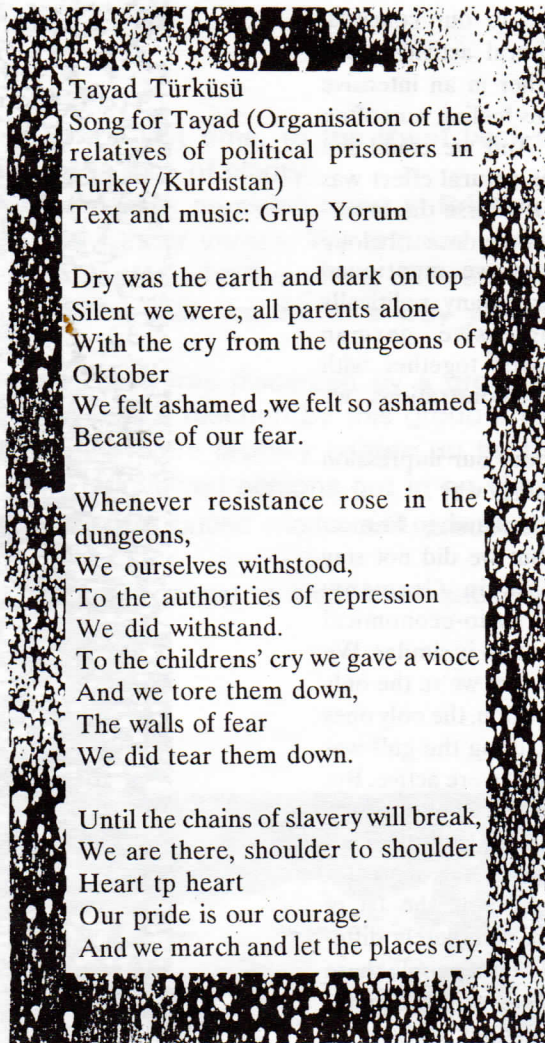
**Question:** In the spring of 1990 you were on tour in Germany. How were your experiences? We would especially like to know what you think of

the german people but also your estimation about the influence of our society onto your people who (have to) live here?

**Grup Yorum:** As soon as we arrived we started to talk with the people, had discussions, tried to judge things. We know why people came to Germany: some came, because their economic situation in Turkey was very bad, they try to get enough to care for their family. Others came because they could not stand political repression any longer, they wanted to use the political situation here, which is better than in Turkey of course. And then there are friends who came in an organised way, who try to work and struggle politically (with a turkish point of view) with the people, who live abroad. We met many people, turkish, kurdish, german, who have political sensitivity, who were active against the war in the Gulf, who organised protest

and demonstrations on other cases in international solidarity. But one example: we were on a solidarity concert with the kurdish people in Bonn on the 1st of May, and there we could see that there is something missing in the people. Though the Germans are much more developed on the socio-political and also on the cultural level than our people, they were not able to build up good and close relations. They are loners, they think in a capitalistic individualized way. We heard that on the 1st of May the chairman of the German Unions even offered money to the members to take part in the demonstrations. Still they preferred to stay at home and drink their beer. On the 1st of May many turkish and kurdish workers go to the streets, they want to celebrate this day of the workers and of the struggle.

Also on the concerts we could see the difference between the german people and ours. There were many



Tayad Türküsü

Song for Tayad (Organisation of the relatives of political prisoners in Turkey/Kurdistan)

Text and music: Grup Yorum

Dry was the earth and dark on top  
Silent we were, all parents alone  
With the cry from the dungeons of  
Oktober  
We felt ashamed, we felt so ashamed  
Because of our fear.

Whenever resistance rose in the  
dungeons,  
We ourselves withstood,  
To the authorities of repression  
We did withstand.  
To the childrens' cry we gave a voice  
And we tore them down,  
The walls of fear  
We did tear them down.

Until the chains of slavery will break,  
We are there, shoulder to shoulder  
Heart to heart  
Our pride is our courage.  
And we march and let the places cry.



positive reactions to our concerts, this kind of cultural activity melts the people together in an intensive way, they miss this feeling very often in this country. And we could see how intensive the natural effect was on the people. Of course the observant, attentive people do not belong into the category we mentioned above. There are many politically sensitive, progressive german friends, they march together with our people on demonstrations, we know that.

What we said about our impression is rather in a general way ...

We also went to Holland, to France, to Switzerland, but we did not stay there as long as in Germany. Concerning the socio-economical structure the situation is similar. We don't want to say that we're the only ones who pay attention, the only ones who are active. During the gulf-war thousands of people were active. But still we think that in a political way our people are more sensitive, it's because our problems have a greater dimension. For example the 1st of May in Turkey is completely different as it is here. And if people there hear, that the state uses weapons, tanks, bombs, that they chase dogs against the people, then they become really angry. Because of their enthusiasm for the 1st of May they are more sensitive for the necessity to go out into the streets. They feel too. If Kurdistan is bombed once again, if the people learn that many innocent people died, then many of them go into the streets to protest against these massacres, their sensitivity for live is much more intense. But we think that this missing sensitivity in Germany can be changed. The progressive people have to use their institutions, their organisations to bring the real information to the people, to show them the truth.

**Question:** Did you hear about the fascist attacks here in Germany?

**Grup Yorum:** In connection with the general changes in the world we did read about the hostility to foreigners and about the fascist attacks. Instead of realizing the degenerated charac-

ter of the socialist relations people were faced with economic poverty, unemployment of the masses. To find work became the most important problem. Probably it was handed to the german state on a plate to put more pressure onto the turkish workers and people.

**Question:** The post-war generation in Germany grew up in an alienated society, full of competition and consumption. Revolutionary wor-thies systematically were destroyed, also cultural ones. Trying not to subordinate to this system of destruc-tion people developed some kind of subculture, expressing in clothes, music, es special way of life, punk for example. Do you know about that and what do you think about it?

**Grup Yorum:** Since the first world war, the second and also the last war against Iraq with its influence onto all the people in the region, we know the reasons, why these wars happen. The imperialists try to open up new markets, they try to expand those which they control already, they want to expand their net of exploitation more and more. And with this they to inject the peoples with their alienated culture. Specially Germany tries to widen its capitalist net of exploitation. It is very proud of its industry still Germany owns very much from this exploitation of other countries. Countries which are dependent on them, even governed. On one side the state shows itself as being against alienated culture but really he is responsible for the situation as it is. The real base for alienation is capitalist exploitation. the cosmopolitan cultural way is a result from this exploitation. We think that resistance against this position must be led in another way as we have seen in this country. The subculture you have mentioned ist some kind of protest, of course. Rather anarchistic, not very effective. In a way it also alienated people from themselves.

**Question:** The actual situation in Turkey is worsening, the economic situation is getting worse, often there are strikes. You always try to support this struggle, what was your work during the last few months?



**Grup Yorum:** After coming back from our tour in Europe in spring many things happened in Turkey and of course we took part in many things. Different to the time before 1980 the workers and servants have democratic claims today. The workers' movement from Taris (state-monopolist factory in Izmir), from the 15th/16th of June (19.. protest-actions against shut-down of DISK, a workers' union) or the last miners' strike of the in Zonguldak (1990/1991) - there was always one fault: these actions did not last. And the reasons were the unions who made a policy in the sense of the government. Their policy was inside the systems' frame, they did not really inform the workers. But the workers' strike in Pasabahce (Istanbul, strike of glassworkers in August 1991, where the factory was occupied, after 11 days the dismissed workers had to be reinstate) was something different, this strike was organized from the beginning to the end. They built up district comitees, who made the contacts between the workers and the people who supported the strike. They were a unit, they worked together. this action was very successful. This was the difference to the other strikes, also to the one in Zonguldak. From the civil servants many were dismissed after 1980, were forced to leave the country. So they could not become a part in active struggle. Today there is a new consciousness to fight for a life in dignity, they fight against the price increases from 20 to 40% in the last year. There are thousands of them who fight for their rights. With their oneday walkout from work they fought against legal requirements and in a general way they were successful.

During the whole time we did support their actions and demonstrations. And also if we look at the problems of the pupils we can see a development. The struggle from the 6th of November 1990 and the 10th of April in 1991 was led against the structure of YÖK (college students'

organisation of the the state), they wanted to solve the democratic and academic problems in the colleges. In a cultural and artistic way we try to support these struggles. But there are still the same faults as before 1980, many organisations make the same mistakes. Independent from these, who did not learn from their mistakes, there exists a structure, which is built on a strong foundation,

this structure wants to form a unit with the people, is open for the masses, a structure united with the türkish and kurdish people. This structure tries to mobilize democratic mass organisations, punishes those who are guilty against the people, a structure, which fulfills the demands of the people.

(this structure they speak of are the Efforts/Forces of the Revolutionary Left, Devrimci Sol Güçler).

Madenciden

About the miner

Text and music: Grup Yorum

Down I went into the pit  
Up he must, the black diamond  
The earth surface is hot, friend.  
For years I worked in the silent  
dungeon, mined and grabbed  
Because my children laugh, friend  
There is no laughter in our house.  
Go, they say, go  
Against the hunger, go  
The black diamond is a coffin  
And if it has to be you will die, they  
say.  
Day is coming without shame  
If you laugh, they say, cry, friend  
Now I am too impatient for these  
lies.

To day I went down into the pit  
Up he must, the black diamond  
But we will not go down,  
Hello, friend,  
It is like death, without any light  
These pale faces.  
Strike, strike,  
The sun came up, friend  
Now there is nothing left to loose.

The oppressed beneath the earth  
Those above they call cry out  
They say: this coal is ours  
They say: might be that we'll die.  
And the day came when they called  
for strike.  
This day did come, friend, they called  
for strike,  
Now there is nothing left to loose.



# TEDKAD - COMMITTEE

## SUPPORT - COMMITTEE WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN TURKEY AND KURDISTAN

### TEDKAD-COMMITTEE HAS BEEN FOUNDED

The revolutionary, democratic forces and the working people of the world are going through a difficult phase. The imperialists are encouraged to proceed against the suppressed and the working people even more brutal by the decline of the revolutionary movement and the fall of the socialist states. The revolutionaries and the people on earth have a hard time of it to set something against the imperialists "New World-Order".

With the "New World-Order" US-imperialism tries to build up boundless domination of the world. US-imperialism is in offensive in Africa, Asia, Latin-America and Near-East, it attacks the people and massacres them. In East-Europe and SU first it has imposed its orders and methods on the counter-revolutionary governments

and by this tries to take over domination/power more and more. The imperialistic aggression is like a crusade, that forces thoughts on people like "socialism is dead" and "the time of marxism is over".

In a time like this the revolutionary organisations and the democratic forces must take up a strong attitude against the imperialistic aggression and wage a determined struggle against imperialism. The necessity for more solidarity, better co-operation and stronger faith in revolution is an internationalistic task. Even if there are different opinions the progressive and revolutionary left-wing forces have to struggle together against imperialism, fascism and reactionary developments, they have to struggle together for a free world without

suppression and exploitation, they have to unite the forces and strive for a closer co-operation. Today this is more necessary than ever before. We, Devrimci Sol Güçleri (Revolutionary Left-Wing Forces), are waging a struggle against imperialism and oligarchy, for independence, democracy and socialism in Turkey and Kurdistan. The idea why we have founded a "support-committee with the struggle in Turkey and Kurdistan" (TEDKAD-COMMITTEE) was to be able to work more together with the progressive, democratic and revolutionary forces in Europe and the world and to show solidarity with them.

TEDKAD-COMMITTEE bases on a revolutionary world view and is a democratic institution.





The committees aims are an intensive co-operation and more solidarity between the revolutionary forces in Turkey, Kurdistan and in Europe. To inform the revolutionary forces in Turkey and Kurdistan about the revolutionary and socialistic developments in Europe and in the world is also a part of our aims.

Turkey is a neo-colonialistic country that is dependend to imperialism. Turkey is a country in which fascism rules. A minority that exploits the people and collaborates with the imperialists has the countries fate in hand. From economy to policy, from sports to culture everything obeys to the will of this small group and its profit-interests. The majority of working-people lives in poverty, hunger and unemployment. A hand-

full of exploiters however live in luxury and gluttony.

The revolutionary and national liberation-struggle of the kurdish people is pursued by a policy of assimilation and genocide with the deny of kurdish peoples existance for years. Terror and massacre should suppress the liberation-struggle of the kurdish people.

Human-rights, the democratic rights and liberties get kicked by the government at its discretion. The name "Democracy" is existing but democracy itself do not exist. Democratic institutions are existing only for pretence. The political parties, the parliament and the elections have no importance for the leadership of the country.

True democracy is only possible if one brings the national suppression of the kurdish people to an end, if

the kurdish people can live free and self-determined. This is only possible by an anti-imperialistic and anti-oligarchic peoples-revolution. That's why we, as democratic force refuse the abstract democracy.

In our idea the struggle for independence and socialism is not to separete from the struggle for democracy. We take democracie's problems in hand and wage a struggle with this perspective.

**We as TEDKAD-COMMITTEE will carry through our activities from these points of aspects.**

The TEDKAD-COMMITTEE will lend the maximum support to the struggle in Turkey and in Kurdistan. Within this framework it will inform the revolutionary and democratic public in Europe as well as organize cultural and political activities. It will mobilize turkish and kurdish peoples-forces with regard to revolution in our country.

With these aims it will get into contact with revolutionary and democratic forces and organize activities. It will bring out newspapers, leaflets, booklets, posters and placards concerning different themes. The committee will organize information-events to the development in Turkey and Kurdistan. Films and slides about the struggle in Turkey and Kurdistan will be shown at these events and in the meantime

pictures will be exhibited. In addition the committee organizes relief- and solidarity campaigns for the financial support of the struggle.

The TEDKAD-COMMITTEE will not only inform about and support the revolutionary struggle in Turkey and Kurdistan but



will also show solidarity with german and other revolutionary, progressive forces and anti-fascists and support their struggle. It will try to watch the whole revolutionary developments in the world and show interest for them because the committee has an internationalistic conscious and tradition.

The TEDKAD-COMMITTEE is expression of militant and determined tradition in struggle for socialism.

Nationalism and actionistic (not continious, just looking on action) proceeding are foreign to the perspectives of the committee. Friendship between the people and solidarity are essential part of the committees work.

The TEDKAD-COMMITTEE is founded with these aims and contents and hereby informs all revolutionary and democratic forces about this.

#### **TEDKAD COMMITTEE**

PS.: The committees central office is in 5000 Cologne 30, Teichstr. 16/c. Tel.: 0221/531278, FAX: 0221/531700

We will soon give you the addresses of our committes in France and Switzerland.



The revolution will not be a stage play  
 it will not be a set-piece  
 a theatrical spectacle

The revolution will not be viewed from \$30 cushioned seats  
 in the balcony  
 in air-conditioned comfort

The revolution will not be singing and dancing  
 and bright-coloured period costumes

The revolution will not be greeted with cheers and applause  
 by men in business suits or tuxedos  
 and women in furs and evening gowns

There will be no standing ovation at the end of the revolution  
 as the audience exits the theater  
 discussing the drama, the pathos, the staging

The revolution will not be a stage play

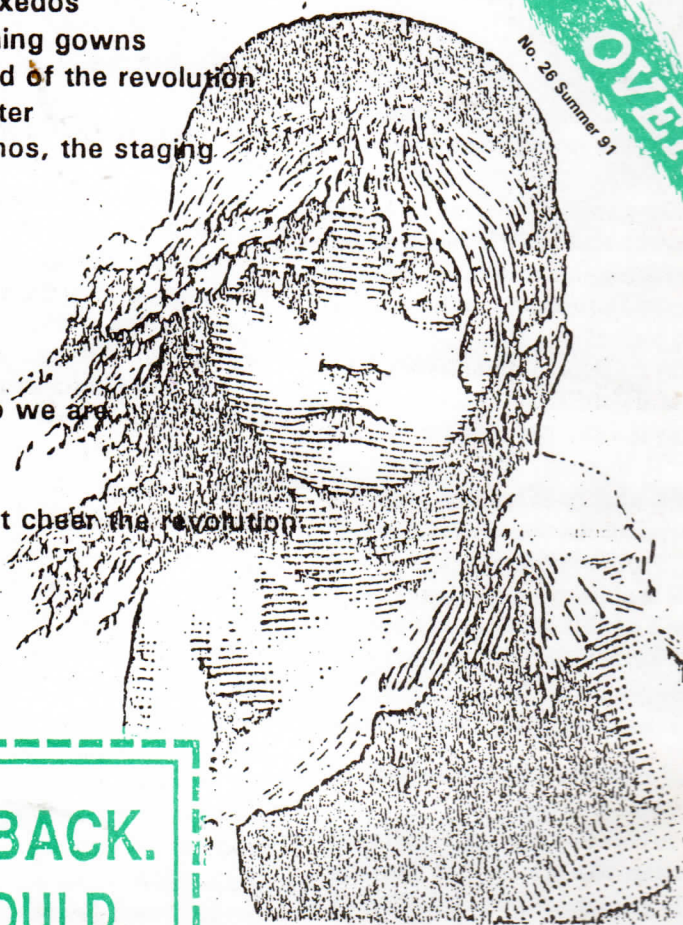
The revolution will be our lives  
 it will be our deaths

The revolution will be in the streets  
 and in our homes

The revolution will be what we do and who we are  
 not what we say  
 or what we wear

The men in suits and women in furs will not cheer the revolution  
 they will fight it  
 and we will fight them

The revolution will not have an ending  
 The revolution is our lives.



**KICK IT OVER**

No. 26 Summer 91

**HERE IS YOUR BRICK BACK.  
 RECOGNIZE IT? YOU SHOULD.**

**IT IS PART OF THE WALL THAT YOU,  
 AS ONE OF THE ELITE UPPER CLASS,  
 HAVE HELPED BUILD BETWEEN THE  
 MINORITY RULING CLASS AND THE  
 MAJORITY WORKING CLASS  
 THROUGHOUT HISTORY.**

**BY FLAUNTING YOUR DECADENCE, YOU  
 HAVE MADE YOURSELF A TARGET.**

**GET USED TO IT.**

**SOCIAL YOUTH CHAOS - FUCK SHIT UP!**



**SUGGESTED DIRECTIONS: CUT ON DASHED LINE,  
 ATTACH TO BRICK, AND THROW THROUGH WINDOW**